



AKWESASNE NOTES

"WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS"

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(officially, our October
issue, for anyone keeping
track of such things.)

Edward Foulks, M.D.
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— Kahonhes

Iroquois Snow Snake Game

"If Wounded Knee occupiers get convicted, then that means that every American Indian in this country has no treaty rights. If this happens, then the rest of America does not have constitutional rights. So if we get convicted, you all get convicted — and that's the truth."

— Russell Means
American Indian Movement

"We are of the whole Earth, spiritually plugged into her every process — we hear her every cry. If we lose our ability to hear, we cannot flow in harmony with her, and we will vanish with the invaders when she resolves this dissonance with a great convulsive shudder."

— Gayle High Pines, on the
Non-Progressive Great Spirit

"We have not yet projected sales for it, but 2,750 miles is a big project."

— Sidney D. John, Caterpillar Brasil
executive on plans to build a
highway in Brazil which will
exterminate native people.

"Watergate [won't] be a surprise to anybody in Indian Country. Instead, it will let the rest of the Americans understand what we've been going through in our many years of work with the Federal Government. Now they know the lack of advocacy. They know the lack of trust. They know what it's like to have crooked people working for you. We've all had that kind of experience."

— Leon Cook, NCAI president
at the annual meet in 1973



HOW IT IS WITH US:

We're sorry (again) that this issue is so late. It seems like an 18 hour day just isn't enough — especially when staff must travel so extensively raising funds through speaking engagements and such. But we are trying, and we will get out the next edition just as promptly as we can.

Not only are we late, but the pressure of work causes us to miss articles which should be included, to let letters and assignments go unanswered, and to neglect our own duties and responsibilities to ourselves and our people. We feel what we are doing is vital, so we're not complaining but explaining.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF POETRY from the pages of AKWESASNE NOTES will be published in 1974 under the editorship of Karoniaktatie. We would like to include plates of paintings, sketches, woodcuts — the sort of thing we would like to have in this newspaper, but which we cannot because of lack of color or because of format. Any material submitted can be returned after photo color separations are done, or can be loaned for display with the NOTES travelling group. Further information can be obtained by writing Karoniaktatie, Akwesasne NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.

Anyone knowing the whereabouts of Jim Little Wolf formerly of Milton Mills, New Hampshire, please inform NOTES, via Roosevelttown, N.Y.



AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PARTISANS DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) the Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga.

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DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page — check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month, it is many of those whose zip codes begin with "9", and people of New Brunswick, who will have red labels. ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US if you are red-labelled, and your name will be re-instated. This is not an appeal for money, although we would appreciate any support you may wish to send at this special time.

MOVING? PLEASE SEND US YOUR CHANGE OF ADDRESS — IT SAVES US MONEY AND INSURES YOU WILL GET NOTES.
(be sure to include your old address and zip — and your new zip too.)

Increasing costs and shortages of newsprint have caused AKWESASNE NOTES to change printers. Although we have been served well (and patiently) by M.R.S. Printing in Gouverneur, New York, their rising costs meant a 17½% increase in our printing costs — or a shift to a smaller format. Other printers in the area told us the same thing — in fact, most said they could not take on new business because of paper shortages. Thus this issue was printed on the Canadian side of the border.

Newsprint shortages, fuel shortages, higher food costs, and other signs that the prophecies of our old people are coming to be will, in the long run, not be solved quite so easily as finding a Canadian printer. We feel very acutely the need for NOTES to have the land where the staff can work together, where we can sustain ourselves as much as possible in harmony with the Creation, and where we can have reasonable security and peace. We long ago exceeded the capacity of our present accommodations.

We would be glad to hear from participants in this newspaper who might be able to secure the needed land and modest funds for simple shelter so our roots can go down deep. We feel sure that there are those who read this who may have at least part of the answer. Perhaps some individual or church group has property, or would invest in property which could be rented, leased, or loaned to NOTES.

We don't need much — but what we do need, we need badly.



HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE AKWESASNE NOTES

... ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies. ... leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, or workplace, in an Indian center or tribal office. ... sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment: send us 35 cents for each copy actually sold for 50 cents. Timid: get a bundle of six copies for \$2. Bolder ones: order a pack of 20 for \$5 (prepaid). GET THE WORD OUT!

TO SUBSCRIBE

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs over \$4,000, and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc., will add another \$1,000 — and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive.

Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have been received. And since we have no grants, no other sources of finances, we must depend on you, the readers for our survival

AKWESASNE NOTES staff consists of many people who help in so many ways — all over the world. Those whose lives revolve around NOTES at Akwesasne are Kahonttonni, Roy Davis, Connie, Doug, Rokwaho, Rarihokwats, Karoniaktatie, Pegi, Susie, Becki, Kanatakeniate, Coyote, Art, Henry, Anias, Tommy Lone Wolf, Ateronhiatakon, Kawennos, and Raosennawane, Kaherehare, Kanoharoton, and then there are those who come in to help during those long days of mailing an issue, plus those who help in so many ways throughout the year. To everyone all over this earth who support us spiritually and with materials and energy, we give thanks to each other.



HELP NEEDED FOR AKWESASNE NOTES:

- person familiar with distribution, advertising, direct-mail work, etc. to handle our distribution of books and materials, crafts, etc.
- a carpenter/handy-man who can spend a week or more in the springtime doing repairs in the NOTES office/house.

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

- blankets, pillows, sleeping bags
- a ditto machine
- good typewriters
- photographic equipment
- used or wholesale citizen's band radio
- scissors
- lamps for desks & floor lamps
- used tarps, canvas, rugs
- tools of all kinds
- seeds & roots for planting: contact seed houses and nurseries in your area: often they have old seed or surplus stock available, including berries, fruit and nut tree seedlings.

AKWESASNE NOTES / White Roots of Peace people carry out an extensive travel schedule each year for a variety of reasons:

- to conduct interviews, report on news, to investigate, and make contacts for this newspaper.
- to meet with reservation groups, urban groups, prison groups, student groups to promote Indian unity, strength in the Indian ways, and to give out information on Indian situations.
- to meet with college and church groups to develop support and understanding, and to raise funds for travel, publishing activities, and support of this newspaper.

We are interested in people who wish to participate in this travel program. We can use additional help of a variety of kinds:

- we need people to travel on each trip who are journalists, poets, photographers, artists, writers, to cover the news.
- we need spiritual leaders, speakers, singers, and others who wish to share their traditional knowledges with others to keep the Indian ways strong.
- we need people connected with colleges, church groups, and organizations who can arrange financial support and organize meetings in their areas.
- we need to hear from people who can offer a place to park and work on our next issue, people who are organizing Indian events, or people who want us to visit their areas to cover news or to meet with people.

The travel itinerary is flexible, but we are starting to organize around this pattern:

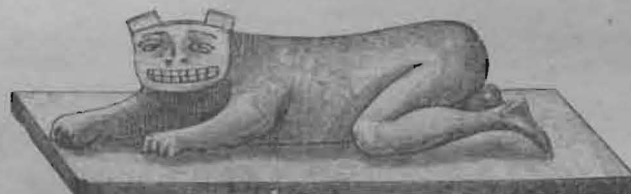
Winter: January: Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, southern California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Arkansas (and places en route to and from Akwesasne.)

Spring: March: Pennsylvania, New Jersey. April: New York City area, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, New York State.

Summer: Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and old Mexico — a joint Indios/Chicanos trip (and locations to and from Akwesasne.)

On our last trip, speakers included Grace Black Elk, who was inside Wounded Knee from start to finish, Coyote, Kanatakeniate and Rarihokwats, accompanied by 11 other traditional peoples of all ages.

Further information is available from NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.



Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. Date and identify all clippings.

send us your own materials — articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists — we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper — native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check out your school or public library. If they don't subscribe, suggest that they do so. If they can, encourage them to send a contribution — most send \$5.

support the paper financially, if you are able. Particularly now during the summer months when people tend to forget.

Everything in this paper came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

Dialogue North

a play in modern times
opens with a young man
center stage of the horizon
killing his lungs
looking expectantly apprehensively
like he's about to make an announcement
opens his mouth hesitates
begins

Wounded Knee was December 29, 1890.
Wounded Knee was
in another country. We have
no guilt here. The Americans
they did it. They have to
LIVE WITH IT
live with it
live with it
...

the young man dissolves
into the darkening sky
a voice
a chorus of voices
thunders clearly
through the dusk

WOUNDED KNEE
WAS 1890
AND LAST WEEK
AND YESTERDAY



WOUNDED KNEE
IS HAPPENING TODAY

in our great and guiltless country
in our where that is the north
there is a people
there are many peoples
who think that all the land
is their very own

so we send emissaries
airborn briefcases
handshakes with big smiles

can you imagine?

we offer helicopter rides
color movies and maybe
a trip to Yellowknife

it all costs money

we crowd into classrooms
too hot and too smoky
strong of seal and fish

we listen

Mary Iyyittauq —
if you came for food
it would be all right
you could have it
but it's not food you want
you want to go onto our land
I don't want you to go



times change
before you had to walk this land
now you use skidoos
planes bring you food
ships bring houses
they all need gas and oil
the world is running short of gas
we are looking everywhere

THERE IS NO LAW
TO STOP THE SEARCHING

Adam Totalik —
those laws were made in the south
this is our country
we have to say NO
to your exploration
we have much to learn about the law
but it's our country
we have to have something
to say about it

there is no choice but to go along
with the laws as they are now

John Mannilaq —
some white people want to work here
we don't want them to
we tell them why we don't want them
they tell us why they must come
maybe some people are telling the truth
maybe not
maybe we are going to lose

we'll fly you around
you can see for yourself
the caribou don't run away

Ootooke Ashivak —
we hear about animals being chased away
we want to keep our food
we want to keep our land
the White People always want to be boss
Why?

that's not so anymore
we always listen
to what you have to say
we always let you know
what's going to happen

Alookee —
our young people might be better off
if they work for money
and the land isn't destroyed
maybe we can work and hunt too

our children have to have a future
right now we are half and half
half Inuit and half White
if we say NO right now
what will our kids have?
we have to think ahead

Therese Quaqujuaq —
if we say YES
and the younger generation
are not treated right
they will hate us

I think the only way
they could be happy
is if they are free

Qingnaqutug —

I am Netsilingmuit last people visited by the White Man
I grew up eating food from the land
the Whites came then for furs
when I first started eating White Man's food
I couldn't eat it now I can if it's cooked right
the young people today can eat White Man's food real good
but they can't hunt
we used to get food and light from the seal
live in snow houses in the winter
then the White Man came and brought the rifles
it's easier now
we used to have to hunt the game that wasn't too wild
so we could get close with our bows
it's easier now to get more
if I knew for sure that the game would always be free
would always be there
then I would know the young people would always be happy
the White People told us didn't ask us told us
to live in the wood houses
now I am afraid they are telling us
we are going to lose our land and our food

Tulurialik —

I come from this country around here
when I was about half size I saw a White Man the first time
we lived on game in those days
now my kids need White food
I don't work my kids can't hunt
they won't all get jobs they won't have any money
people used to be happy to trade at the store
the young people aren't going to be happy
they can't trap
they don't have jobs
no money
they can't buy anything

this winter we said we don't want people in here looking for oil
we're not afraid of White People
we don't mind them making their maps from planes
but we don't want them landing
we seem to be afraid of you White People
we're not afraid
it's just that we're worried
about the future of our young people

Ittunga —

the oil workers are getting better
our young people can't hunt
can't bring in furs to sell
jobs might be the answer
the future
for the next generation

You can't stand in the way
of PROGRESS
PROGRESS
progress
You have to learn
to LIVE WITH IT
LIVE WITH IT
live with it.

—recorded by Jim Green
July, 1973
Spence Bay, N.W.T.



"A LICENSE TO KILL"

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT LEADER PEDRO BISSONETTE IS SLAIN BY B.I.A. POLICE AT PINE RIDGE



Pine Ridge, South Dakota — Pedro Bissonette, an Oglala leader in the occupation of Wounded Knee, was shot and killed by Bureau of Indian Affairs policemen October 17.

Bissonette, vice-president of the Oglala Civil Rights Organization, was one of the top seven facing the most serious charges arising from the occupation.

Mark Lane, a defense attorney from the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, charged that Bissonette's death was part of a conspiracy by federal officials to harass, terrorize, and destroy the American Indian Movement. "It appears the BIA was looking for Bissonette and had orders to shoot to kill," Lane said.

The license to kill came about as a result of a series of legal moves. After the Wounded Knee occupation ended May 8, Bissonette was freed on \$25,000 bail. On September 6, there was an allegation of an incident in a tavern in the small bordertown of White Clay, Nebraska. Bissonette reportedly waved a pistol at one man and took a shot at another who, he said, had hassled him. He was charged with assault. He did not appear for his trial, so authorities issued a federal fugitive warrant, revoked his bond, and issued wanted notices that Bissonette was "armed and dangerous."

Stanley Lyman, then superintendent at Pine Ridge for the BIA, said Bissonette had been found in a car in the course of a routine check. "Pedro attempted to shoot one of the officers and he was shot at fairly close range," Lyman said. He claimed police fired one shot with a shotgun, and that Bissonette never had a chance to fire the weapon he allegedly carried.

Pedro was 33 when he died on a highway just east of Pine Ridge. Officers said they saw a car at a roadside. Bissonette was in the car and attempted to drive away. He was ordered to stop. He got out of the car and was ordered to put his hands up. He leapt back into the car and emerged with a 30.06 rifle. So goes the official police story.

One officer said he attempted to fire at Bissonette, but his gun jammed. The other officer said he fired a 12-gauge shotgun, standard operating equipment for BIA police, at close range. An ambulance making a

routine run to the Pine Ridge Hospital passed by and was flagged down to take Bissonette to the facilities.

But witnesses who arrived soon afterwards noted there was a large pool of blood about 45 feet away from where the auto was parked. They noted too that there was a delay of over an hour in getting the man to the hospital, just three or so miles away.

Tension on the reservation increased, and BIA Police Chief Del Eastman ordered his officers on 12-hour shifts. A crowd gathered for a vigil at the PHS hospital, but eventually they were dispersed by the officers.

He was shot by Joe Clifford, whose half-sister had been married to Pedro. There had been trouble in the marriage, and Clifford had told a number of people he was looking for Pedro and was going to get him. This is the man that the BIA assigned to track down Pedro.

The official police report says Pedro was shot at 9:48, and was brought to the hospital dead on arrival at 10:10 p.m. Yet witnesses insist they had come on the scene before 9 p.m. after six BIA police cars had arrived, and that Pedro's body lay in a pool of blood.

U.S. Attorney William Clayton had assured the Bissonette family that the body wouldn't be removed before it was examined by an independent pathologist. However, it was spirited from the hospital and across state lines in the night — on Clayton's orders.

Bissonette's family and the defense attorneys from the WKLDCC demanded an autopsy by a pathologist agreed upon by both themselves and the U.S. Government. Apparently even while this was being negotiated, the body was being moved. It was discovered later in a Scottsbluff, Nebraska, morgue.

Witnesses said that Bissonette was on his way to see Lane, his attorney. He had been pegged by U.S. officials as a weak link in the AIM command, and he had been pressured to turn state's evidence. He had refused — but he was a key witness to prove conspiracy by government people against a fair trial.

Russell Means, a co-defendant of Bissonette's, compared the death and the general reign of terror on the reservation directed at AIM supporters to the brutal end that so many leaders of native people have faced in past centuries, and to the persecution of the Black Panther Party, and to the illegal jailings of thousands of antiwar demonstrators in Washington on May Day, 1971. He called on the rest of the country to act against the current campaign of repression against native people in South Dakota.

Tension at Pine Ridge was heightened further when American Indian Movement leaders announced that they would return to the reservation for their brother's funeral. The U.S. promptly got an injunction forbidding them to set foot on Pine Ridge land.

A Quiet Activist Gone

Bissonette had been a Golden Gloves boxer, but he wasn't a fiery leader. He was nervous when he had to address a group — but in small groups, he was friendly and laughed a lot and did the organizing without knowing it. Even before the occupation of Wounded Knee, his concern for his people had begun to get him in trouble with the BIA police.

He and another activist, Poker Joe Merrival, went to see a welfare worker at the BIA who gave out the welfare checks. Pedro told the worker that none of the old people have cars, and yet they have to walk — some of them 80 years old — miles to the BIA to pick up their checks.

"Since you have a car, why don't you drop the checks off where they live?" Pedro asked.

"I'll do what I want," the welfare worker is said to have snapped back. Pedro then supposedly threatened him, and the welfare worker called BIA police.

Sometime after that, Pedro and Poker Joe were surrounded by about 15 BIA police. Poker Joe told Pedro to run for it. He made it to his car and started to drive off. However, he saw Poker Joe was being beaten by the police, so he turned his car around and started to drive into the crowd of lawmen. Poker Joe escaped, and all of the BIA men ran except one, Homer Price, who refused to move. He was hit slightly as the car backed up — and Pedro was charged with that offense, too.

It was this incident that set the stage for Pedro's death many months later.

Pedro came to trial on that charge May 29 and was found innocent. But the trial had some interesting developments. (See article at bottom of next page.) It is alleged that pressure was put on by judicial and government officials to get Pedro to turn state's evidence. When those alleged moves failed, defense attorneys had planned to use Pedro's testimony about

the government conspiracy to get American Indian Movement leaders convicted. It is widely believed among AIM members now that this is a major factor behind Pedro's violent death.

The Mourners are Restrained

On October 20, U.S. District Court Judge Fred Nichol granted the U.S. a temporary injunction restraining Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and Leonard Crow Dog from traveling to the reservation, funeral or no funeral. Nichols said the order bars the three from coming onto the reservation until they show cause why their bonds should not be changed, as at that time, their bonds prohibit reservation entry. Nichols said he had issued the order at the request of the U.S. Attorney's office.

Attorney Ken Tilsen called the court order outrageous, especially since Means is a candidate for tribal chairman, and because his home is at Porcupine on the reservation.



Pedro Bissonette . . . how he died is still not known

—AP

At the show-cause hearing, however, Nichol dropped the restraining order, although he was unhappy about the whole situation. He said his decision was made "with regret" because he feared for the AIM leaders' safety. U.S. Attorney William Clayton, on the other hand, said that the court should restrain the trio because their presence on the reservation "could provoke violence."

"I don't want the defendants to go out there and get shot," Nichol said, apparently aware of the goon squad activity there, and knowing how Pedro had died. Dick Wilson, tribal council president, had warned that any AIM people coming on the reservation would do so "at their own risk."

BIA officials said that the usual 13-man force was beefed up to about 50 men on "indefinite assignment."

In fact, most of the 50 extra men are part of the new BIA "SOS" unit, a group of reservation police trained in riot and crowd control, organized to be transported at short notice anywhere in the U.S.

But the absence of serious confrontation during the events following Pedro's death was not due to the police presence, which, in fact, was an inciting factor. It was AIM which bent over backwards to avoid any trouble, and kept the situation cool.

A Battered Pick-up and a Coffin

A 43-car caravan brought Pedro's body from the funeral parlor to the reservation. A battered pick-up carried the coffin. It was placed in a tipi in front of Pedro's mother's tiny house. People lined up to go in to view the body.

The presence of dozens of federal marshals and FBI agents, surveying movements of those who came to the wake and funeral, only inflamed the feeling of outrage at Pedro's death.

Tuesday, October 23, the body was put on the pick-up truck again and a caravan took it to the Holy Rosary Catholic Church, the one attended by Pedro's family, for burial. On the way, the caravan stopped at the edge of the reservation where Dennis Banks paid a last farewell to his friend — Banks had been prohibited from entering the reservation by tribal council order threatening arrest.

At Holy Rosary Church, the coffin was buried in the adjacent cemetery. A group of little children threw artificial flowers on the grave. Others placed wreaths.

On the ridge above, BIA police watched the coffin being lowered into the grave, as if to make certain Pedro was gone.

(This letter to the editor appeared in the Rapid City Journal October 29, 1973.)

Before white Americans scold American Indians for use of violence, consider the background and environment out of which that is spoken.

In the United States since 1900, guns have killed over 800,000 persons. We have around 9,000 murders a year. 12,000 suicides, 65,000 assaults and about 100,000 robberies — all committed with the use of guns. . .

James V. O'Connor, S.J.
Mother Butler Center
Rapid City, South Dakota

I read in the *Journal* about a shotgun killing in which the victim was supposed to have been shot at close range with 00 buckshot from a 12-gauge. It was stated that seven slugs were removed from the victim's chest.

I was in Vietnam in 1969-70. While I was there I used a 12-gauge shotgun with 00 buckshot. Now I know there are nine slugs in one shell of 00 buckshot. It was my experience that a person hit at close range with such a weapon is usually blown in half or has a very large hole all the way through him. I have also hit people from 50 feet and over and had all nine slugs enter the body . . .

Roy E. Copeland
Rapid City, South Dakota

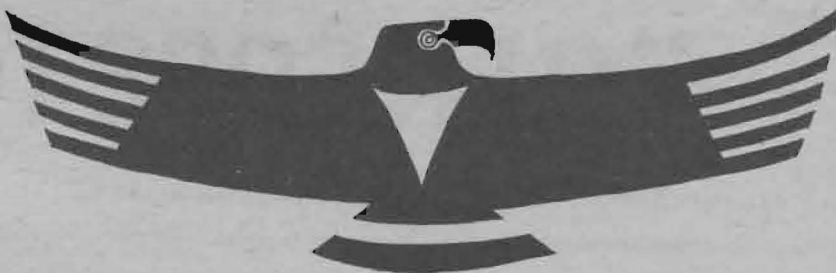
Violent Death the Rule of Life at Pine Ridge

Pedro's death was only one in a series. Clarence Cross had been shot and killed, and his brother seriously injured. BIA police were there too. Aloysius Long Soldier, an AIM member from Pine Ridge had died the week before Pedro — his death was ruled "suicide". Another young AIM member was found at a roadside, his head run over several times by an automobile. On October 22, during Pedro's wake, Agnes Lamont, the mother of one of the men killed during the occupation and Jenny Leading Fighter, another elderly woman, were seriously injured when their car was struck by another in which two BIA policemen allegedly were riding. And there have been other shootings, rapes, beatings. For a rural community of only about 11,000 people, that's quite a bit for a few month's action. The violence seems contagious, with other deaths among teen-agers from stabbings unrelated to political feelings.

Remember, these are deaths *since* the occupation. On November 20, Allison Little Fast Horse, age 15, was found dead in a ditch, a bullet in his heart. All those dead have been supporters of the Wounded Knee occupation. Allison was a close friend of the grandchildren of Gladys Bissonette, aunt of Pedro and herself an active participant in the occupation.

Ten days before that, Philip Little Crow was beaten to death. Shots were fired at the home of the Thunder Hawks in Porcupine — police have made no investigation, excusing the shooting as a "neighborhood disagreement."

Irv Hand, who is alleged to be part of the goon squad, has been charged with the voluntary manslaughter of Little Crow. The BIA investigator sent to question him was Roy Black Lance, who himself has a few notches on his gun, one of them for the killing of Clarence Cross last July.



An Interview With Pedro Bissonette

(During the Wounded Knee occupation, an interview with Pedro Bissonette was taped. This is an excerpt.)

This [armed confrontation] was the only way we could do it. Every time we approached the BIA in a nice way, normal way, they shut the doors on us. They're scared to talk to us about the treaty rights. Then they'll indict us and they won't even talk about the charges. They'll try to end us off in some easy offer.

I see with my own eyes the young people and the older group are here, and the local residents are willing to fight for our rights here. We were tired of being treated as second-class.



At one time, I thought all I could ever be is a drunk. When I found out I could fight for my people, I became a man.

I wasn't here [a few years ago] — I was working on high structural steel, making plenty of money — but I was tired of what's happening here, the way Indians have been pushed around, and I have been for my Indian people all the time. I wanted to come home to work for my people, getting something done, and without getting pay for it. Something that would be good for every district out here, for the kids and the older generation.

Five days after Little Crow had his skull cracked, Pat Hart, a close friend of Pedro Bissonette, was shot and badly wounded. After ten hours of surgery for stomach wounds, he was in critical condition in the reservation hospital. Two BIA policemen are suspected of the shooting, but nobody has been arrested, according to local witnesses.

During the time Pedro was laid out, some BIA police pistol-whipped some young Indians — one of the policemen was Joe Clifford's brother, just as the two who smashed into Agnes Lamont were Joe's cousins.



This time, however, someone struck back and Terrance Trotter and Phillip Clifford, two BIA policemen alleged to have been involved in the pistol-whipping were shot and injured by some unknown assailant.

William Clayton, U.S. Attorney at Sioux Falls, said he had asked the FBI to make a "thorough investigation regarding the circumstances."

Dennis Ickes, an attorney in the Indian Civil Rights Division, is the one responsible for investigating complaints of violations of civil rights for prosecution by the Justice Department. So far, he has been unable to find a single case to prosecute — despite shootings, rapes, night-rider attacks, reprisals, and other kinds of complaints. Ickes reportedly turned down an invitation to spend a few nights on the reservation where

he might get first-hand experience in the activities of the now-infamous "goon squad" of tribal council supporters working with the BIA police.

"Not a single charge has been filed against any of the oppressors, the BIA police and goon squad," Russell Means charged. "Meanwhile, scores of Indians who have spoken out for liberation have been indicted and are facing many years in jail."

Ickes explains, "As of this date [Nov. 20] our preliminary investigation shows that the shooting of Mary Ann Little Bear occurred during a gun battle between (private) individuals." He added, "Because no governmental or tribal action appears to have been involved, federal civil rights statutes would not be applicable to the situation." Ickes says the decision with respect to the death of Clarence Cross is now pending with the Department of Justice.

As far as a gang rape incident which he investigated, Ickes says, "inasmuch as no governmental or tribal officials were involved, there is no basis for a civil rights investigation."

He says too that the death of Philip Black Elk, brother to Wallace Black Elk who was spiritual adviser to the Oglalas and AIM occupation forces, whose house exploded when he turned on a light switch, was "accidental."

There are 48 FBI agents in Rapid City, supposedly to investigate the Wounded Knee siege. No agents are stationed in Hot Springs, the closest city to the reservation.

JUSTICE IN AMERICA

(Marge Buckley, an attorney from Venice, California, spent five weeks aiding the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee. This is her account of one phase of legal activity.)

One of the most revealing incidents of the length to which the Government and court would go was the case of Pedro, a leader of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization. He was awaiting trial on charges of assaulting a federal officer on November 6. He was accused of trying to run down with an automobile Homer Price, a criminal investigator for the BIA police. Price was allegedly injured as BIA officers attempted to arrest Bissonette on a federal warrant.

He had an appointed attorney whom none of us trusted. It was a hard case.

On Memorial Day weekend, we got a commitment from John Thorne of San Francisco and Mark Lane, who had been at Wounded Knee from the beginning, to take the case if it could be delayed. I had already discussed substitution of attorneys for the purpose of continuance with the judge, and he had said no.

So Tuesday, we went to Pierre, South Dakota — Ramon Roubideaux, Mark Lane and me — armed with a motion to stop the trial. Mark and Ramon went to see Pedro in jail while I went over to the court to prepare Russell Means for his bail reduction hearing.

After the hearing, Mark and Ramon told me about the peculiar happenings at the jail. While they were talking to

Pedro, the Sheriff had come in and demanded that they leave, saying that the U.S. marshal had said nobody could see Pedro excepting his court-appointed attorney. They protested, but left because of the Means hearing.

Just about that time, the judge came rushing up the hall in his black robes to where we were standing outside the courtroom and yelled, "Have you been tampering with our witnesses?" We all said no, and then Mark said, "No, but I am concerned about the government witnesses talking to the prospective jurors."

The judge said, "You take your hands off this case. It's none of your business. Pedro has a good counsel. He's satisfied."

Mark said, "That's not true. Pedro wants me to be his lawyer."

The judge said, "You haven't talked to him today."

Mark said, "Oh yes I have."

The judge pointed his finger and said, "Would you swear to that?"

"Mark said, 'Yes — Ramon and I saw him this morning and the sheriff saw us.'"

In a bellow, the judge said, "I gave strict orders that nobody was —" he paused, and added in a softer tone, realizing what he had admitted, " — bother him." Then he turned on his heel and stalked away. Judges have no right to prevent defendants from seeing attorneys of their choice.

In a few minutes, the clerk came out and said the judge wanted to see Mark. I suggested that none of us see the judge in chambers anymore unless we have a second lawyer with us. So both Ramon and Mark went in. In the judge's chambers were Pedro, a court reporter, and the judge. The judge had been questioning Pedro without his lawyer present, another complete breach of judicial ethics. Mark sat down and the judge continued questioning Pedro about whether he had walked out on a conference with attorney Lennie Weinglass. Pedro said no. The judge said, "Your lawyer told me that you told him that."

Mark said, "Your Honor, that is the most gross impropriety [for a lawyer to discuss his client's statements with a judge] I have ever heard."

The judge blurted, "Baloney!"

Mark, glancing at the court reporter to make sure he was taking it all down, said, "Did I hear you correctly?"

"Baloney!" End of conference.

In the corridor while we were discussing this latest development, the U.S. Attorney came out and told us that the judge had asked his opinion on whether he would be reversed if he refused to permit us to substitute attorneys, and he said no. Further, he told us he had prepared the defense of Pedro's lawyer. At that point, we decided that the total lack of judicial ethics, restraint, and propriety had to be documented, so we left Pedro and started back to prepare more affidavits for our appeal.

That night, as we sat typing up our additional affidavits describing the horror stories of the day, Ellen Moves Camp, an AIM activist from Pine Ridge, came in crying. Pedro had told her that the judge and attorney had threatened to send him to jail for 90 years if he didn't become an informer against AIM in the Wounded Knee trials.

The 8th Circuit Court of Appeals in Minneapolis had been so incensed at our story that they gave us an immediate hearing date the next day, a most unusual move.

So while Ken Tilsen from Minneapolis and I flew to Minneapolis for the hearing, Beverly Axelrod [another attorney] went to Pierre. There she demanded to speak to Pedro, and to remain within the bar to give counsel to Pedro during his trial. The judge refused, but when she insisted that it go on the record, he finally gave in and permitted her to sit inside the rail. Pedro immediately got up from the counsel table where he had been sitting with his back to his appointed lawyer and went to sit with Beverly. The judge was furious, and the jury bewildered. But Pedro stayed with "his attorney."

[The Circuit Court ruled that since the trial was already almost completed, it would not order it halted, but it indicated that there were already enough judicial errors that could make an appeal successful. News of the appeal court decision came while the trial was in progress. Shortly afterwards, the prosecution rested its case, the defense attorney moved for acquittal, and the motion was granted by the judge.]

The Pre-Trial Non-Hearings



Pre-trial hearings for all of the 116 current defendants were held in Sioux Falls November 26 to 30. Defense lawyers William Kunstler, Mark Amsterdam, and Mark Lane moved for dismissal of the charges, citing several of the statutes involved as unconstitutional, pointing out that others are non-criminal, and alleging bad faith on the part of the prosecution and selective prosecution of participants and supporters of the 71-day occupation.

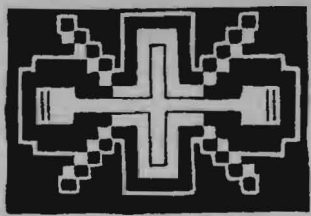
The hearings were before Judges Fred Nichol of Sioux Falls, and Andrew Bogue, of Rapid City. Nichol will be hearing the leadership cases in St. Paul beginning January 8 with the trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks, and Bogue will hear the remaining cases, now numbering 111 cases, possibly in Sioux Falls.

Most of the Sioux Falls cases involve interstate transporting and use of firearms, impeding a federal officer in the performance of his duties during a civil disorder, burglary and larceny of the trading post. Each case has basically the same facts, the same witnesses, and the same political arguments.

Before the trials could begin, there were numerous complex legal motions that had to be decided by the court.

While it was a small victory that the hearings were held at all, Judge Nichol set the stage by saying that the defense lawyers could have exactly 35 minutes to spell out their arguments in detail. Did he mean 35 minutes on each motion, Amsterdam asked? No, that was for the whole show, the judge said. Then he cut out a day of testimony so the planned four-day hearing was reduced to three days, which meant that none of the AIM leadership were able to give evidence.

Nine people testified in all, including attorney John Keller, tribal attorney Ethyl Merrival, defense lawyer Ken Tilson, Hank Adams of the Committee for the Protection of American Indian Rights, and Paul Boe of the American Lutheran Church.



Wounded Knee defendants argued that the United States was more interested in "crushing the American Indian Movement" than it was in obtaining justice.

The attorneys also said that the United States has caused "massive prejudicial pretrial publicity" that makes a fair trial for the native people unlikely, if not impossible. For instance, Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton had issued widely publicized press releases characterizing the "lawless militants" in a very bad light.

"The present prosecutions of the leaders of AIM, the members of AIM and their supporters from all across the country are not sought in the interests of the American people, but are being used to harass and attempt to crush the American Indian Movement," the pre-trial motion said. A change of venue or postponing the trial would not be enough to overcome the adverse publicity so the indictments should be dismissed, the motion said.

To substantiate the defense motion, Richard Kleindienst was subpoenaed to testify. He was Attorney General of the United States during part of the Wounded Knee occupation.

"We have some sealed indictments to use in the negotiations," Kleindienst was quoted as saying in Phoenix March 29.

But when he took the stand, Kleindienst said that although he was Attorney General and thus at the command of the force of over 300 FBI, Border Patrol, and U.S. Marshals sent to contain the occupation, he really didn't know much of what was going on there.

He said he didn't recall being told that a group of men from the tribal council were erecting a roadblock to prevent food and medical supplies from reaching the occupation force, contrary to a Federal Court order which had enjoined any interference with food delivery. "It is possible I could have been informed of the event, but I don't recall that now," he said.

Kleindienst, who perhaps wanted to forget he ever was Attorney General, didn't bring any notes along with him to jog his memory. He said he didn't remember

discussions in the White House over the occupation, and although there were practically continuous discussions in his office about the situation, he didn't remember any of them either.

Asked if he knew that there were scores of federal armed officers on the Pine Ridge reservation before the Wounded Knee occupation started, he replied, "I could have known then, but I don't know now." Defense attorney Mark Lane, who was questioning him, said he was intrigued that a former Attorney General had that kind of memory.

Kleindienst resigned as Attorney General last June during the Watergate disclosures. U.S. District Judge Nichol ruled that Kleindienst need not respond to a defense question asking if he didn't think the roadblock personnel should be arrested and indicted. Nichol agreed with a government objection that the question was speculative.

"This is the heart of our motion," argued defense attorney Mark Lane. "It's a selective and discriminatory decision on who should be indicted."

Kleindienst testified that he discussed the siege "almost continually" with Justice Department personnel, but considered himself responsible for the overall situation rather than the specific details.

When asked if he recalled saying of the AIM people, "If I had my way I'd hang their asses," in an interview taped by a Depaul University reporter, Kleindienst retorted that he'd never uttered such a thing in his life.

Lane also questioned him about the Special Operations Group, a specialized unit of 110 federal marshals trained to handle riots, which can be sent out on the authority of the President or the Attorney General. Kleindienst didn't know if these troops were trained in the use of special weapons, but he assumed they were among the marshals sent to Wounded Knee.

* * * * *

"I made no decisions regarding the issuance of indictments with respect to persons at the Wounded Knee site," he said. He denied that he had made the statements attributed to him in Phoenix. "My policy was one, to enforce the law and two, to avoid a confrontation of forces which in my opinion could result in deaths of those situated in Wounded Knee or of federal officers."

George Tennyson, U.S. Marshal for South Dakota, was also questioned about his experiences at the roadblock in question. The defense wanted to know why he had followed the court order to search a car to see that only food was being transported into Wounded Knee, but he didn't enforce the order in making certain the food got into the village unobstructed.

Tennyson said he accompanied the car to the tribal council roadblock, but said the food was taken and the car turned back by "about 20 male Indian subjects, 90% armed with long guns — deer rifles and shotguns."

The defense said these were Richard Wilson's men, and wanted to know why Tennyson didn't force his way through. "I felt at the time that what I did was best," Tennyson said.

U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue, who issued the order in the first place, agreed with Tennyson.

"It's not my opinion that he should have tried to ram through a roadblock that we didn't even know about at the time [the order was signed]," Bogue said. However, he did not comment on why no indictments were issued on this interference with a federal officer in the performance of his duties.

The U.S. Attorney for South Dakota, William Clayton, testified that he never received any directions from Washington to pursue indictments against particular individuals. He did admit, however, that he was directed to dismiss indictments against Thomas Oliphant, a *Boston Globe* newsman who participated in an airdrop of food over Wounded Knee April 17.

"I was told the dismissal was at the Attorney General's instructions," Clayton said.

The Justice Department had announced in Washington last July 6 that all charges against Oliphant had been dropped "for lack of sufficient evidence." Charges had included crossing state lines to participate in a riot, conspiring to obstruct federal officers during a riot, and obstructing an officer during a riot.

At the time, Oliphant said he was "elated" with the dismissal, but added, "My elation has been moderated a trifle by the somewhat cowardly way the Justice Department got rid of it." Oliphant, who had written a published account of his ride on one of the three single-engine planes that dropped food in a dawn flight, said that "lack of sufficient evidence" really meant "lack of any evidence."

A review of all the indictments stemming from the siege on Wounded Knee by U.S. armed forces was ordered by Attorney-General Elliot L. Richardson, who was appointed after the siege ended. A department spokesperson said approval of the dismissal had come after a review by Richardson himself, assistant Attorney General Henry E. Peterson, and deputy Attorney General Joseph T. Sneed.

In the Sioux Falls hearing, the defense also said indictments charging obstruction of officers in the course of their duties interfered with First Amendment freedoms

of expression because such words as "interfere" and "obstruct" could be interpreted too loosely.

U.S. Attorney Clayton replied that the "defendants were not engaged in the possibly innocuous acts of leafleting and picketing, but with acts of anarchy intended to shake loose the very foundations of an organized society maintaining public order."

In other pre-trial hearings, the U.S. had been ordered to furnish a great deal of material to the defense before trial, including photos, movies, lab and ballistics reports, statements — but the FBI seems intent to frustrate the court order. The FBI has taken over an old school building in Rapid City to lay out all the evidence, and have fortified the structure with such things as surveillance TV cameras on all the surrounding street corners, armed guards, etc.

"Apparently their paranoia knows no bounds," the WKLDOD newsletter states.

Judge Nichol also denied a government motion to have the jurisdictional question of the Treaty of 1868 decided before the commencement of the trials. That means this very crucial issue will be heard when there is the best opportunity to present it and to get the word out to the American people.

The court has ruled against a motion which would require the government to file a bill of particulars. For instance, the government has not specified on which dates during the 71-day siege various offenses are alleged to have occurred.

The court refused to order pretrial disclosure of informers or agents provocateur, stipulating that the matter will be handled at trial.

Judge Bogue has not announced decisions on some of the pre-trial motions — he will be presiding over the 110 other defendants, as well as hearing federal motions in the Custer state court cases. He has been accused of bias, including an alleged part in attempting to pressure Pedro Bissonette to turn state's evidence. He has excused himself from trying the leadership cases because of bias which the defense had alleged.

Defense attorneys point to Judge Bogue's comments last January, while presiding over a trial of a Lakotah who was not an AIM member. Just the same, Bogue expressed his opinions of AIM, saying that people all over the state were "incensed" at AIM activities which he claimed were "breaking heads and property."

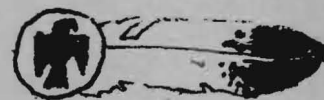
The defense also cited the government's control of the press as grounds for dismissal of all charges. During the occupation, especially when the government was allowing no press people into Wounded Knee and telephone wires had been cut, the press was dependent upon daily government news releases, just as the Pentagon did in Vietnam. Because of this, the defense argued that a fair trial would be impossible anywhere in the United States since people's knowledge of the occupation had been formed by the information the government had put out.

Clyde Bellecourt and Ted Means, outside of court, had charged that the press had geared the American people to expect a massacre, and had not reported on encroachments of human rights at Pine Ridge. For instance, there were no press reports on the BIA court trial of men who had assaulted former tribal judge Hobart Keith, an outspoken opponent of Dick Wilson. The assailants were found guilty, and sentenced to five minutes in jail and a ten cent fine.

Russell Means said that the severe prosecution of the AIM leadership cases was "a strategy intended to destroy AIM as an organization dedicated to obtaining Indian rights. They want to discourage other Indians from seeking their rights."

The new target date for the federal trials to begin in Sioux Falls is February 4, 1974.

Trials of the so-called leaders of the takeover were sent to Minneapolis by Judge Nichol, who ruled the defendants could not receive a fair trial in South Dakota. The first trial will be the consolidated trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, scheduled to begin on January 8.

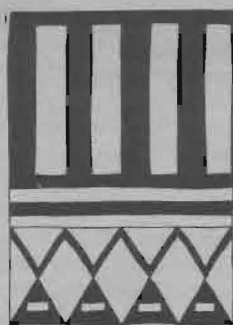


The City of St. Paul isn't exactly objecting to the trials being moved there, but Mayor Lawrence Cohen has asked for \$140,600 in federal funds to help pay expenses he anticipates will arise. Cohen and Donald Lewis, Minneapolis Human Rights Department director, asked for the funds December 15 at a conference with representatives of the U.S. Justice Department, the Minnesota governor's office, the Governor's Crime Commission, police agencies, and the American Indian Movement.

Lewis, who was named coordinator for the mayor's office to handle plans to house and possibly feed some of the 2,000 to 3,000 people who are expected to converge on the city, said he expects peaceful demonstrations. To prevent incidents, Lewis recommended that "local uniformed law enforcement should be held at a low profile."

(Thanks to Rapid City Journal, Associated Press, and our friends in the Plains for information used here.)

GOODBYE RAPID CITY, HELLO SIOUX FALLS, ST. PAUL.



America's Most Massive Prosecution

In anticipation of the shift eastward in court dates, the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee has closed down its Rapid City office and has set up shop in Sioux Falls and St. Paul. As was the case in Rapid City, the committee will work in close conjunction with local AIM groups and native peoples.

Material support is needed at this time because of the moves and the need to equip new offices, and to facilitate trial preparation.

The legal group will be bolstered during the trials by volunteers from the National Association of Defense Lawyers in Criminal Cases who offered services during that group's annual convention. Robert C. Heeney, a lawyer from Rockville, Maryland, is coordinator of the Wounded Knee effort. He said that 35 lawyers have volunteered to give a week of their time and to pay their own expenses to defend the Indians.

The legal work has been seriously handicapped by lack of help, and additional paraprofessional legal workers, attorneys, office help, fundraisers and other volunteers are needed — as well as funds and resources to pursue the defense. With the U.S. spending millions of dollars of taxpayers' money to hold the trials, even the modest expenditures required by the WKLDLOC must be obtained if the trial is to be a fair one.

The St. Paul office of the WKLDLOC is open at 333 Sibley St., Room 605, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101. Their telephone number is (612) 224-5631.

Support for the defense efforts came recently from a group of 20 Vietnam veterans in Minnesota who donated most or all of their state veterans' benefits to the defense committee. They said in a statement that they were giving the estimated \$2,000 because they felt "the Vietnam war has come home" and that the same tactics are being used against Indians in their struggle as were used against the Vietnamese.

Jeff Roy, 25, who pledged his entire bonus of \$600, said he expects more veterans to contribute. And Richard Lendley, 26, who also pledged \$600, said the bonus funds which were authorized by the Minnesota Legislature, were "blood money."

Contributions and offers of assistance can be channelled through:

Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee
POBox 255
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101
telephone (605) 339-9805
PLEASE NOTE NEW ADDRESS!

Milo's Goings and Comings

Since July 12, Warfield Milo Goings, a Lakotah, had been held in the Rapid City jail for an alleged parole violation. Although Goings had served his entire term for an earlier offense, he was picked up after Wounded Knee on a "parole violation."

In early November, he was taken to the Minnehaha County Jail in Sioux Falls, reportedly enroute to the Federal Reformatory at Sandstone, Minnesota. He did leave Sioux Falls for Sandstone on November 12, in a prison van with two other inmates, but he was dropped off in Mankato, Minnesota, on orders of a radioed message to the drivers. The same vehicle picked him up after taking the other inmates to Sandstone and brought him back to Sioux Falls.

On November 14 at 6 a.m., Goings was spirited away to Leavenworth, Kansas, and placed in solitary confinement there. A few hours later, U.S. Marshal George Tennyson of Sioux Falls received in the mail what the Government was dodging: a writ ordering Goings to appear in Judge Miles Lord's courtroom in St. Paul, Minnesota, that same afternoon, so that he could finally have a hearing regarding his alleged parole violation. When Goings did not appear, Judge Lord was angered, and chastised the Government for its "moonlight excursions" to keep Goings out of his court.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Thor Anderson argued that Lord's court had no jurisdiction over Goings since he was now in Kansas. Lord, in turn, accused the government officials of trying to "aggravate" Wounded Knee related matters, and threatened to hold the responsible parties in contempt of court if Milo was not produced before him.

Goings was finally produced before Judge Lord in St. Paul on the morning of November 26. Tennyson testified that such comings and goings were "routine procedure" — but he eventually admitted that both he and Anderson had been aware of the writ before the transfer to Leavenworth.

According to the U.S. officials, they didn't really care where Milo's hearings were to be held — they only wanted to follow "legal procedures." Judge Lord then asked Clarence Butler, a Bureau of Prisons legal official, if he had the power to transfer prisoners from one prison to another. Butler said he had that authority.

"Then order him transferred to Sandstone as of today," Judge Lord demanded. "You will not leave this jurisdiction until you do."

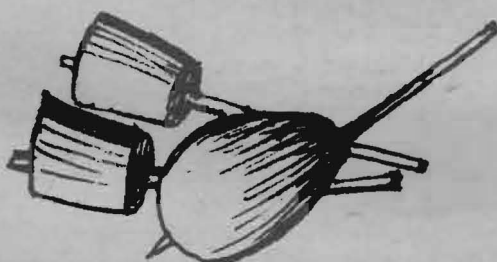
Anderson replied that he "humbly asked the court not to do that."

Judge Lord said, "I have taken the Government at its word. They said it made no difference to them. I would hope the Government is not playing some kind of game. . . Stop aggravating the wounds of Wounded Knee and let's have a hearing on this matter."

There was a brief recess. Then, with super-arrogance, Butler announced to the court that during the recess, Washington, D.C., had withdrawn his authority to make prison transfers.

But Judge Lord had the last say. He said he had made the order to test the Government's good faith, and thus finding it lacking, ruled that he had jurisdiction to hear the case.

Defense attorneys Melvin Goldberg and Kenneth Tilsen then proceeded with their argument that revocation of Goings' parole had been illegal since he had served his whole term, and had been advised by attorneys last winter that he need no longer report to his parole officer. Anderson requested more time to prepare the Government's arguments.



Lord said Goings had made a "strong prima facie case" for no parole violations, set a bail hearing for the following day, and left the courtroom. He returned 30 seconds later long enough to state an afterthought:

"It is this court's order that this man not be removed from the Hennepin County jail between now and when he walks into this court tomorrow morning." The next day, November 28, a \$5,000 bond was posted for Milo, and the Government was given more time to prepare a brief on the matter.

Carter Camp: Still in Jail, Still Strong

Carter Camp, national AIM co-chairman, was jailed on August 27 in connection with the shooting of Clyde Bellecourt. Although those charges have been dropped by the state, he is still being held on a charge of bond violations of possessing a firearm.

Hearings were held on that matter November 27-29, and Clyde and Carter sat side by side in the courtroom working together to obtain his release. The Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit turned down an application for a bail reduction.

The WKLDLOC believes a show of support for Camp's release would be helpful, and have asked for petitions and letters to be sent to the WKLDLOC office in Sioux Falls.

In addition to the Rapid City legal fund, an Oklahoma fund is being raised for Carter Camp, national chairman of American Indian Movement, for bail and legal costs on charges he faces in Oklahoma connected with his leadership in protests there and subsequent legal harassment.
The address:

Carter Camp Legal Fund
1st State Bank
102 West Main
Anadarko, Oklahoma

Hasta la Vista — Until We Meet Again

The United States Embassy in Mexico City said that Dennis Banks and George Roberts of the American Indian Movement were detained in Mexico City by the Mexican Government, allegedly for interfering in Mexican internal affairs — they would not elaborate.

Banks was in Mexico City for a conference on Indian problems, and was arrested after the conference was over. He was placed on a Los Angeles-bound plane December 8.

The TV Guide Joins the Fray

A four-part series of articles on the media and the Wounded Knee occupation, written by Neil Hickey, has just completed running in the *TV Guide*, one of America's most popular magazines. While it quotes opinions on both sides of the picture, its general attitude is that the 71-day occupation was a publicity stunt, and that the TV crews (and the American audience) were taken in by AIM leaders who had "staged" the show.

Calling it "skillful staging of 'media events' ", Hickey does point out that the presence of the media probably prevented the U.S. from moving in and crushing the occupation violently. But evidently ignoring the tens of thousands of real bullets shot at them and the constant risk of death which the occupiers faced, Hickey characterizes the whole scene as an "orchestrated showdown," "TV takeover", and tells "how the siege was staged for TV."

There seems no doubt that the presence of TV crews were welcomed by the occupiers, lest the U.S. move in and destroy them, dig a mass grave, and prepare the set for a generation of tourists to visit 50 years from now. But that acceptance of the media was a double-edged sword, for it was rare that what was sent out to the nation's TV screens, to be viewed in comfortable living rooms by passive audiences, was incisive enough to give the American people any real understanding of what was happening.

Now, it seems, even the guide to the TV has failed in that task.

Goodbye, Pine Ridge; Hello, Phoenix

Stanley Lyman, superintendent at Pine Ridge Reservation since October, 1971, was the subject of many Oglala complaints, mostly having to do with his alleged complicity with tribal-council-operated oppression. His removal was demanded in the first days of Wounded Knee.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs gave him a temporary transfer to Arizona earlier this year, and then said it would leave him at Pine Ridge if he wanted to stay. Apparently, he did not, for he has been moved to Phoenix where he will head "The Indian Trust Protection Office" there.

Replacing Lyman is Albert W. Trimble, 45, an Oglala, who was named acting superintendent effective Nov. 11. The tribal council approved the appointment.

Council members were read a message from their former mentor, Stan Lyman. "One of the proudest times of my life," he wrote, "was when I defended with you your tribal government against forces which wished to destroy that government . . . During this struggle, the elected officials of the Oglala Sioux Tribe assumed the power that the tribe has had but never fully exercised since the constitution was adopted in 1936. This accomplishment has been long overdue."

Trimble had hardly been appointed before there were rumbles about his removal. Vern Long, president of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO) immediately began circulating a petition protesting the BIA appointment.



They said that while "we have been asking for self-determination, the BIA responds by giving us an indoctrinated bureaucrat as superintendent. It is this type of self-determination that contributed to the recent Wounded Knee takeover."

OSCRO charged that during the occupation, Trimble sided with tribal council president Dick Wilson and his goon squad. Trimble is also the brother of Emma Nelson, secretary of the tribal council, and one of three persons who acted as executive committee during the many recent months the tribal council has not met, but which issued edicts in the name of the council.

So Much for the Liberals

Senator George McGovern spoke December 3 at Augustana College in Sioux Falls and faced a peppery questioning audience.

When asked by Dave Hill, a Custer defendant, if he was supporting the treaty rights of native peoples, McGovern said, "No, I am not. I think the treaties were abrogated by an Act of Congress over 100 years ago, and that it's ridiculous to talk about the Treaty of 1868 being carried out."

Hill suggested that McGovern shouldn't be talking about righting injustices overseas until injustices here in North America had been righted.

"Well," said McGovern, "if you start with the wrongs of that kind, that go back 100 years or more, every government that exists on the face of this earth probably would have to fall."

(Thanks to the Associated Press, the New York Times News Service, Michael Putney of the National Observer, Dan Piller of the Des Moines Register, James Parsons of the Minneapolis Tribune, and many others for the information used here.)

the reverend stands firm

One Clergyman Accepts Indian Burden

During the early days of the Wounded Knee occupation a tall elderly pipe-smoking clergyman could be seen moving calmly through the tense atmosphere. He seemed to bring peace to the minds of the white residents of Wounded Knee whose homes and businesses were nationalized for the occupation. And he also could be seen in negotiations designed to prevent violence from erupting in the armed confrontation.

Now that clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Paul A. Boe, 58 years old, has been ordered to jail for refusing to testify about what he saw and heard during the time he was at Wounded Knee. He is an official of the American Lutheran Church, and he maintains that his conversations fall within a clergy-penitent relationship and are privileged under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

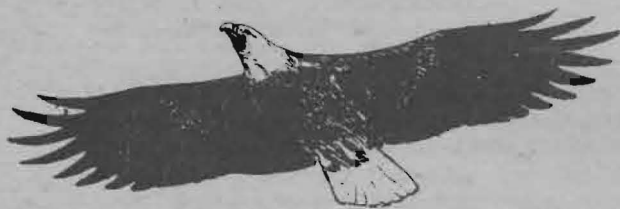
Judge Paul Benson of Fargo, North Dakota, however, ruled December 14 that Dr. Boe is in contempt of court. Judge Benson ordered Dr. Boe confined in jail until he is willing to testify before a grand jury in Sioux Falls that is investigating the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee — or until the jury's term ends 14 months from now.

The judge stayed execution of the order until January 2 to allow Dr. Boe time to prepare an appeal.

The Rev. Dr. David W. Preus, president of the 2.5-million strong American Lutheran Church says that boards of his denomination were supporting Dr. Boe in his stand and would finance his appeal, which some think may develop into a landmark case on clergy confidentiality going to the United States Supreme Court.

Dr. Boe, who is executive director of the church's Division of Social Service, appeared before the grand jury and answered several questions that he felt were not vital to his claim of privileged communication. However, he refused to answer a question as to whether he could identify the people he saw in Wounded Knee carrying guns. He said he could not identify them without violating the confidence he felt was a legitimate pastoral relationship.

In testimony in mid-November, Dr. Boe contended that disclosure of his discussions with native leaders would irrevocably destroy his church's relationship with native people. He noted that he had known Anishnawbeg leaders Dennis Banks and Clyde Bellecourt since 1968 and said he had helped them incorporate AIM a year later. He said he had served as a confident and supporter of both Banks and Bellecourt, and had gone to Wounded Knee at Bellecourt's request.



The grand jury which was convened in Sioux Falls on November 13 was just as suddenly dismissed when witness after witness refused to testify on grounds of Fifth Amendment rights. Restricted by Justice Department orders that no witness was to be granted immunity from prosecution, U.S. Attorney Clayton agreed to call off what threatened to be a broad-ranging investigative grand jury.

In the first four days, over 30 witnesses were subpoenaed from the Pine Ridge Reservation, from the AIM leadership, and from WKLD. Among those called to testify were Means, Clyde Bellecourt, Severt Young Bear, and Mark Lane. Also subpoenaed were three clergymen — Dr. Boe, Rev. John Adams, and Bishop Armstrong of the National Council of Churches. During the siege, they urged the church support of the liberators and have since helped coordinate funding for legal defense and bail.

Grand juries, originally conceived as a protection from the arbitrary actions of the English kings, have become under the Nixon Administration a weapon of harassment, intimidation, and repression against those seeking to enforce legitimate political demands.

One of the cases under consideration by the grand jury was the alleged shooting by Carter Camp. Clyde Bellecourt was called upon to testify, but invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to talk about the incident. The grand jury voted to refuse this stance, and threatened contempt citations, but Bellecourt persisted in his refusal to testify, and the second time the jurors accepted his right to refuse. Thus there are no indictments in that shooting, and Carter Camp, Craig Camp, and Leroy Casados have been released from those charges on which they were arrested.

The grand jury didn't hear from many native people, but it did hear from federal marshals, BIA police, postal inspectors. Because of their testimony, five new indictments were handed down. One new defendant was named, Douglas Skye. Other indictments are additional counts against persons already charged: Carter Camp, Richard Garnier, Bernado Escamilla, and Alan Cooper.

Defense committee lawyers point out it is now eight months since the incident — and yet indictments against the occupation force were issued while the occupation was still going on. U.S. Attorney Clayton said he hadn't read the FBI report on the incident involving Tennyson.

Hank Adams testified that during negotiations following the takeover of the BIA building in Washington last November, Brad Patterson, a White House adviser to U.S. President Richard Nixon, told him [Adams], "We're going to get as many of you guys as we can."

Also entered into evidence were federal marshals' logs which revealed the extent of government monitoring of people active in the Indian movement. The marshals were sent out to Pine Ridge months before the Wounded Knee occupation, but particularly just around the time there was a popular effort to have tribal council president Richard Wilson impeached for corrupt practices and terror tactics against anyone who opposed him.



The government had invested in a closed circuit TV, initially so that the people would be forced to view the impeachment proceedings via television. But after the people demanded the right to be present, the TV gear was used to allow the marshals to keep tabs on the doings without showing their presence. Other residents have reported that the FBI was active in squelching the impeachment move. (Wilson showed a John Birch Society film called "Anarchy USA" implying the civil rights movement was Communist-inspired before he allowed proceedings to start.)

The logs also revealed a nation-wide surveillance of citizen support of food and medical supplies for the occupation, and strategized arrests from the Pine Ridge command post. A white van from Akwesasne, for instance, had its moves under surveillance all the way across the country to South Dakota. They kept track, for instance, of where public meetings were being held, and who was speaking there.

U.S. Attorney William Clayton says that the grand jury will continue to meet. There are about 200 more "potential indictments" still being considered, he says.

Douglas Phelps & Rap Brown

Compared with the occupation at Wounded Knee, Douglas Phelps' run-in with federal authorities is only a minor and distant skirmish. Yet it is serious, and symptomatic of American problems with "law and order."

A 26-year-old social activist and Harvard Law School dropout, Phelps was indicted last May by a Federal grand jury in Cheyenne, Wyoming, for conspiring to induce others to cross state lines to help the Wounded Knee cause. In other words, he broke the federal statute known commonly as the "Rap Brown Law", it is alleged.

This statute is one of the most unsuccessfully enforced laws in recent legal history. Since it was enacted in 1968, Federal prosecutors have invoked it to take a number of "movement leaders" to trial. And judges and juries have invariably freed them.

Despite that dismal record, Federal officials continue to press their case against Phelps and his alleged co-conspirators, Tonia Ackerman, an Assinaboine-Sioux activist, and Vernon Bellecourt of AIM.

All three addressed a public rally last April 27 at Colorado State University, where Phelps had been student body president as an undergraduate. They urged students to support the Wounded Knee cause by donating food, clothing, money, and medicine. The three also suggested students could join in an auto caravan the next day to go to Rosebud, South Dakota, to deliver the supplies to a support camp there away from the heat of Wounded Knee, and to attend a memorial service for Frank Clearwater, who died of wounds incurred in a fire-fight during the occupation. En route to Rosebud, Phelps and 18 other students were arrested by FBI agents at Valentine, Nebraska, and charged with violating the Rap Brown law. Nine other Colorado State students were arrested at Cheyenne after a highway patrolman checked with the Pine Ridge federal command post about what strategy to follow.



They weren't the only ones. A total of 50 persons sympathetic to the Wounded Knee occupation were arrested — some as far away as Oregon and Nevada — as they headed for Pine Ridge with food, clothing, and medicines. Countless others were turned back by officers under threat of arrests if they continued. But of the more than 35 persons charged, only ten still face prosecution.

A federal grand jury in Lincoln, Nebraska, this autumn was so unimpressed with the U.S. case that it refused to return indictments against the 18 Colorado State students and Douglas Phelps.

But federal authorities have persisted, just the same.

Richard Thomas, the U.S. attorney for Wyoming, concedes that other Federal prosecutors have been singularly unsuccessful in prosecuting under the same circumstances, but he argues that the Phelps case is different. "We think our premise is sounder because it's readily demonstrated there was a riot going on at Wounded Knee when the speeches were made. A lot of other prosecutions have failed because the purpose of the conspiracy was to produce a riot."

American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Joseph de Raismes, however, argues that all the defendants were acting within their rights. De Raismes, who heads the ACLU's Boulder, Colorado, office says:

"They are people who basically are not involved in the Indian movement, but who are sympathetic to the Indians' goals. And they're being prosecuted under a law that has been repudiated, if not by the courts then certainly by the juries."

There is a chance it might not even get to a jury. Overtures have been made to the Justice Department to determine it if really wants to pursue the charges. Phelps has been hauled to the point that he surrendered to federal agents in New York City rather than Cheyenne, and served notice that he would fight his removal to face the conspiracy charges in Wyoming. And although U.S. Attorney Thomas asked for a \$10,000 bond for Phelps, a U.S. Magistrate released the activist on his own recognizance.

The case was moved from Wyoming to Colorado in December "for the convenience of the parties and in the interest of justice" by U.S. District Court Judge Ewing T. Kerr. He said that the defendants have a constitutional right to be tried in the vicinity the conspiracy, if any, is alleged to have been entered into.

The FBI has been active in Indian movements elsewhere. Hank Adams, director of the Survival of American Indians Association, has charged in letters to Senators Sam Ervin and Henry Jackson, that the Nisqually and Puyallup Indians of Washington State have been subjected to government spying since 1964, the beginning of the prolonged fishing rights dispute. Adams told the *Washington Post* that the FBI had compiled dossiers on 97 Nisqually and 55 Puyallup tribe members. He said the dossier on Nisqually Tribal Chairman, Mildred Ikebe, contained a photograph that was not of her, and a list of "aliases" that were actually the names of her sisters.

The Security and Intelligence Division of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police also have been gathering information about Wounded Knee. They have been questioning members of native organizations and native leaders generally on their attitude toward the occupation, and have asked for identification of native people residing in Canada from photographs taken in South Dakota. Whether they want the information to help the FBI in preparing cases, or whether the RCMP is gearing up for its own showdown in Canada is unknown.

When questioned in the House of Commons by Flora MacDonald, a Conservative Party member, Jean Chretien, minister of Indian Affairs said he was "not aware" of the RCMP activity.

MOVE TO CLOSE A.I.M. SCHOOLS FAILS



Minneapolis, Minnesota — During the height of Wounded Knee's occupation, an article in the *Detroit News* accused the U.S. Government of providing funds to the American Indian Movement through the Office of Economic Opportunity. The charge has since been widely circulated through John Birch Society pamphlets and leaflets of right-wing organizations.

Unseen in the fuss was the finding of a Federal Court in late May that the funds were for education of Indian children — and an order from the court that all frozen funds be paid.

Judge Miles Lord ordered the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to pay the three Indian schools \$20,000 each in grants that had been frozen by the agency last November. The suit had been brought against OEO by the Little Red School House in St. Paul, the AIM Survival School in Minneapolis, and the Indian Community School in Milwaukee.

OEO had charged that proper accounting records had not been kept, but it stalled in complying with a court order to get OEO to help the schools comply with whatever regulations were necessary. OEO finally moved on the request after Judge Lord threatened to hold the government in contempt of court for not cooperating in solving the dispute. Lord noted that the auditors who had met with him had not been overly critical of the schools' bookkeeping procedures, but that the report which came out of Washington on the auditing was much more critical.

"In all my days on the bench, I've never seen the government act like this before," Judge Lord said. He charged that only about one-tenth of the documents pertinent to the matter had been produced by OEO. "I have had a lot better cooperation from the Indians here in this courtroom than I have had from the government in this case," Judge Lord remarked.

It was widely believed that the funds had been withheld from the schools, which had some support and sponsorship from the local AIM chapters, because of AIM participation in the Trail of Broken Treaties in Washington last November.

"Who are you trying to punish?" Judge Lord asked Griffith, who was then acting director of OEO programs for Indians and migrants. "Surely you aren't trying to punish the children," the judge continued. "The government has already agreed that the programs are worthwhile and doing a good job."

The Trail of Broken Treaties occupation ended Nov. 8, and the order cutting off grants to the schools came November 17. The total amount for the three schools was \$113,000. Under law, the OEO cannot cancel funds without first providing assistance to enable voluntary compliance with OEO regulations — and then cancellation can come only after a formal hearing.



"That'll teach your elders to get militant with the Bureau of Indian Affairs."

The Survival Schools started a year or so ago to provide an alternative education for urban native children who had dropped out of public schools. The schools concentrated on "survival skills" — how to survive in both Indian communities and in white society. The program included basic academic skills, but these were taught in an environment in which the Indian students were comfortable.

Judge Lord issued his orders in May, but in November, the funds had still not been paid. In a sharply-worded reprimand to the OEO, he directed the agency to release the \$60,000 immediately. He said he was "surprised and dismayed at the uncooperative and defiant attitude of OEO and its representatives — this constituted the most amazing and unacceptable conduct of an agency of the United States that the court has observed."

Lord noted that the agency refused to produce witnesses, failed to produce documents after it said they would be produced, and "resisted all reasonable efforts toward reconciling its differences" with the school officials.

"Certain OEO officials even refused to appear before the court to attempt to justify such behavior," Judge Lord said. The conduct of the OEO officials, he added, "is relevant to the issue of their good faith and to whether or not their actions were in violation of the law. Surely, if they have no regard for the court, its orders and its processes, one might assume that their treatment of the plaintiffs, who are American Indians, might in some respects fall short."

(Thanks to Dennis Cassano, Minneapolis Tribune staff writer)

INJURY TO WOMAN SPARKS PROTEST AGAINST POLICE IN DAKOTA TOWN

McLaughlin, South Dakota — The chief of the McLaughlin Police Department has been suspended, with full pay, by the city council until he can be certified by the State of South Dakota. The action taken December 5 was in response to a request by American Indian Movement members.

"All he has to do is get to Pierre [the state capital] and get certified," Acting Mayor Harold Eby said of Robert Quinn, who was hired last May and given a year by the city to get his certification.

AIM members also asked for a liaison between native people, city and state governments. Quinn says AIM holds him responsible for a broken arm sustained by Mrs. Delores Taken Alive allegedly as deputy Melvin "Tiny" Litzau tried to force her out of the police station in early November. There are about 30 AIM members in McLaughlin.

"We're going to do it [establish the liaison council]," said Eby. "We're willing to try anything to solve this situation." (Associated Press)

"Before The Trials Begin"

So with one set of federal trials in St. Paul, another in Sioux Falls, the third set arising from the protest in Custer, South Dakota, last February has been neglected in the press. That set of trials started December 10 in Custer, but as the result of a defense move, the trials are postponed, and the site is now uncertain.

Other trials will take place all over the nation, where different supporters of Wounded Knee were arrested. A total of 300 separate state, federal and tribal charges have been brought against the defendants — and the grand jury is still in session. More indictments are expected.

Means said that the trials would be a test of white America's willingness to live up to legal treaty obligations. "If we get convicted, then that means that every American Indian in this country has no treaty rights. Therefore, we might as well get it on — or else cut our hair, shine our shoes, wear a tie, and go knocking at the white man's door. Because if we no longer have treaty rights, then we can no longer survive in a distinctly different culture from the majority of society. We cannot retain our heritage. Also, if we do not have treaty rights which are on a par and equal to constitutional rights, then the rest of America does not have constitutional rights. So if we get convicted, you all get convicted — and that's the truth."

General Custer Lives

At Custer, South Dakota, the WKLDLOC experienced a judicial nightmare. There was a seemingly unending list of indictments, and some persons were indicted on two separate occasions. Six defendants were held in jail for over a month for lack of astronomical bonds — which later were reduced from as much as \$11,000 to as little as \$100. One man, John Carson, faces seven life sentences if convicted. Three persons have not yet been identified or arrested, for they were picked out of a movie and warrants are out for "Red Bandana Doe" among others.

Judge Joseph Bottum's courtroom has been a battleground in more ways than one. Sheriffs are armed with electronic devices to search everyone entering the courtroom. William Janklow, the special prosecuting attorney, is packing a pistol. The most unexpected surprise was the arrival of 14 attorneys from across the state, appointed by the court to act for the defendants — without the defendants prior knowledge. Attorneys from the Legal Committee were barred from acting on their clients' behalfs for "conflict of interest."

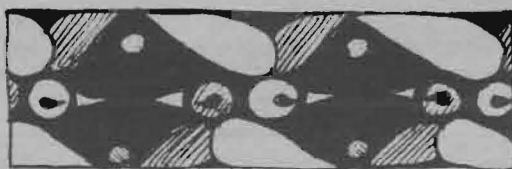
Eventually, with the help of American Civil Liberties Union and others, some of these issues were resolved.

The Custer trials have to do with a February demonstration in response to the killing of a young Indian man, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, and the refusal of Custer authorities to charge the killer, a white Custer businessman, with murder. He was later sentenced to a two-month suspended sentence after being prosecuted for second-degree manslaughter. Thirty persons were arrested the day of the demonstration, and a federal grand jury later issued two separate sets of indictments.

The Defense Was Infiltrated

During the last stages of Wounded Knee, one of the few South Dakota attorneys who seemed willing to be of assistance was John Fitzgerald. He worked closely with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

Thus it was some surprise when the Attorney-General of South Dakota announced that one John Fitzgerald was coming to work for the attorney general's office. Fitzgerald's new job gives high irony to a decision of Judge Bottum earlier. In September, when the Custer defendants were being arraigned, Judge Bottum had expressed grave doubts as to the ability of the WKLDLOC to represent all Custer defendants, saying there would be a conflict of interest. He therefore brought in 14 South Dakota attorneys whom the defendants did not know, and each attorney selected a roster of clients, and the court confirmed the assignment.



One of these attorneys was John Fitzgerald. Unlike some of the lawyers assigned, Fitzgerald offered his help to the Committee attorneys. He became an integral part of the defense of the Custer cases, participating in trial strategy, developing pre-trial motions, and making suggestions based on his experience of law practice in South Dakota.

Then, the bombshell — Fitzgerald announced he had accepted a job as chief trial counsel for the South Dakota Attorney General's office. Although he will

not be prosecuting the Custer cases, and although he promises not to divulge information, he will be a member of prosecutor William Janklow's law office.

Thus co-counsel for the defense is now a prosecutor. A motion calling for dismissal of all the cases on the grounds of conflict of interest was filed by WKLDLOC.

Bill Mathieson also worked with the Committee. He had people involved in the Custer protest stay at his house and meetings in which the negotiations were discussed were held at his house during the occupation. Now he too is working for the prosecution.

Dennis Banks, himself a Custer defendant, called on the people of South Dakota to demand reforms in their judicial system so that injustices would not continue. "This country and South Dakota will crumble when men allow miscarriages of justice to run rampant," he pointed out.

The first to face trial on December 10 was David Hill, a 30-year-old Choctaw from Salt Lake City, Utah. He faces a possible fifteen years in prison. Hill's defense attorneys, Mark Lane and John Keller, are bringing a motion to dismiss all the Custer cases on the basis of Fitzgerald's appointment, charging a conspiracy by the prosecution to infiltrate the defense team.

At the opening of the pretrial hearings for Hill, the defense filed a petition in federal district court in Sioux Falls to remove his case from state to federal jurisdiction. The petition is based on an 1866 statute used extensively to recall runaway slaves, and while it was resurrected during the civil rights era in hundreds of cases in Mississippi in the 1960s, it is perhaps the first time such a motion has been filed in South Dakota.

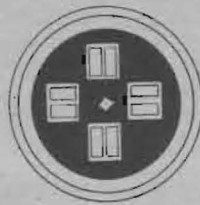
William Janklow, chief state prosecutor, immediately objected to the defense move. Under the federal statute, however, the state immediately loses jurisdiction and the case can only be transferred back to the state court by a federal order after a hearing on the evidence.

Judge Bottum granted a change of venue for Hill from Custer to Sioux Falls, on the grounds that a fair trial was impossible in Custer. The various trials will be held in several eastern South Dakota circuit courts.

Hill is charged with assault with a dangerous weapon.

The prosecution is relying heavily on newsfilm subpoenaed from KSOO-TV in Sioux Falls. It says that it has a "solid case", and does not need to rely on any "dirty tricks."

15 QUESTIONS ABOUT THE 1868 TREATY OF FORT LARAMIE



The Bill of Particulars

Officials in the Justice and Interior Departments have set to work preparing responses for the White House on a "Bill of Particulars" which includes fifteen questions on the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie submitted by lawyers and defendants of Wounded Knee's occupation.

The Bill of Particulars, with specific treaty questions relating to the ongoing federal responsibility to the Lakota Nation under terms of the treaty, was submitted to White House minority affairs specialist Bradley F. Patterson, Jr., in Washington on November 19 by Lakota author and lawyer Vine Deloria Jr.

Patterson told reporters that the treaty questions were "valid and reasonable" and "we'll respond seriously and honestly. They are serious questions in terms of their realism. They aren't at all like the Trail of Broken Treaties Twenty Points, which were 'blue skies' ideas — and everybody knew that."

Federal officials now at work on the treaty questions in Justice are Walter Johnson and Craig Decker. At Interior, they are Interior Solicitor Kent Frizzell and Charles Soller. Decker, Frizzell and Soller were members of the original White House Task Force on Wounded Knee who met with the occupiers in negotiations both before and after the evacuation of the village.

Behind the presentation of the fifteen treaty questions to the White House was apparent dissatisfaction with repeatedly aborted plans to schedule a top-level meeting between Wounded Knee representatives and the White House Task Force. Plans had continuously run afoul on a second promised top-level meeting since the first May meeting between the two parties.

Question One: "Does the United States of America regard the treaty of April 29, 1868 . . . ratified Feb. 16, 1869, and proclaimed by the President of said nation on February 24, 1869, as a valid legal document binding the Lakota Nation and the United States in a legal relationship? (a) If the United States does not regard this treaty as a valid and legally binding document, at what point did the United States disclaim or declare invalid such treaty? (b) If the United States does not regard this treaty as a valid and legally binding document, what document does the United States regard as legally binding upon either party or both parties? (c) If the United States does not regard this treaty as valid and legally binding upon it, what is the basis for the claim by the United States that is has any jurisdiction over the people of the Lakota Nation at all?"

Question Two: "What is the current status of the 1868 Treaty? (a) What articles of this treaty does the United States regard as binding upon it? (b) What articles of this treaty does the United States believe it has fulfilled? (c) What articles of this treaty does the United States admit having not yet fulfilled?"

(Excerpts from the treaty quoted here are part of the United States law, chapter 15 U.S.C.)

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**Article 1.** From this day forward, all war between the two parties to this agreement will forever cease. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. . .

**Question Three:** "With respect to Article I of said treaty, we regard the dispatch of federal marshals to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation last winter as a violation of said article in that such behavior violates the provision and promise of Article I that the United States 'desires peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it.' How does the United States justify its invasion of the lands of the Oglala Band of the Lakota Nation by federal marshals last winter?"

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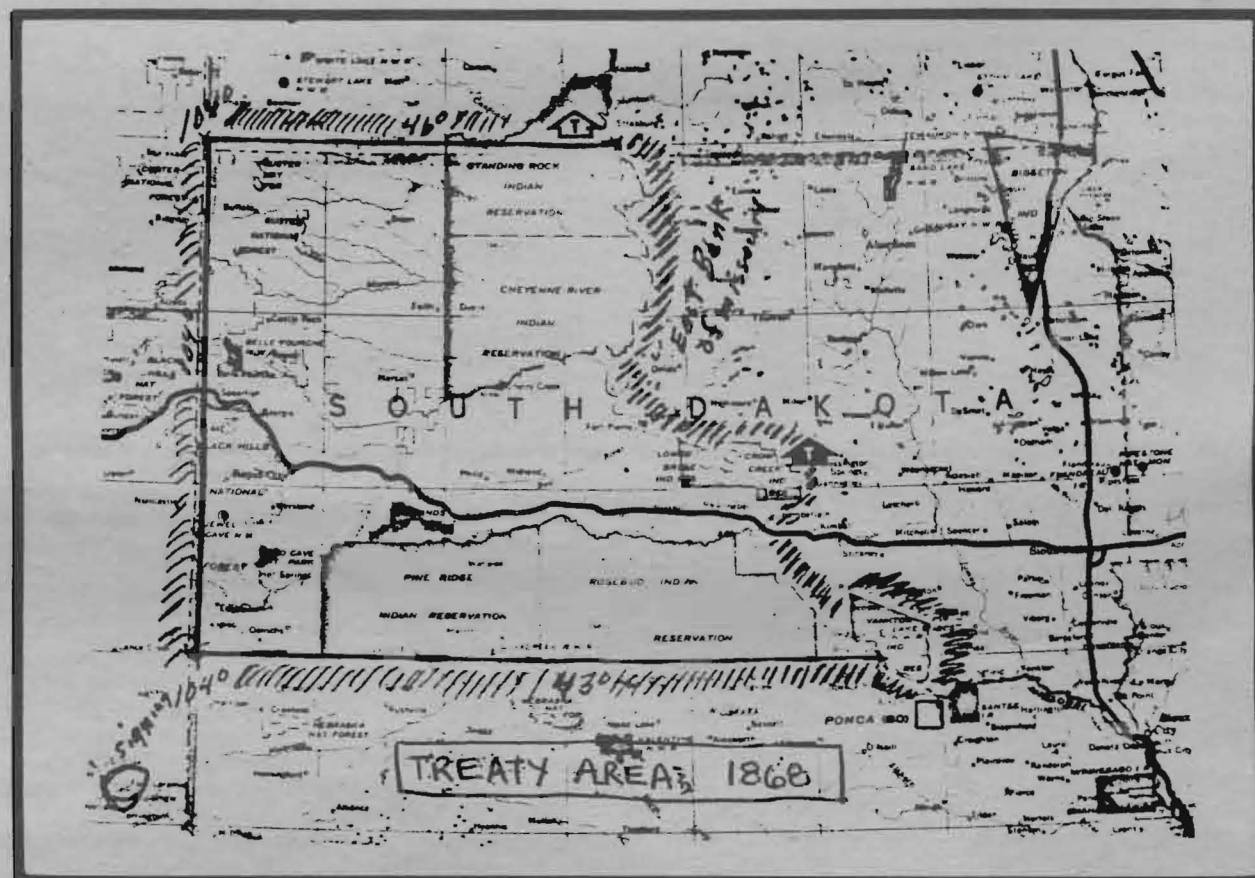
Article 2. The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri River where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low-water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river and along the northern line of Nebraska to the 104th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the 46th parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and in addition thereto, all existing reservations on the east bank of said river shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named . . . and the United States now solemnly agrees that no

persons except those herein designated and authorized to so do, and except such officers, agents, and employees of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article . . .

Question Four: "With respect to Article II of said treaty, we regard the building of dams on the Missouri River as a violation of the treaty which continues until the present in that the United States has unilaterally and unconstitutionally deprived the Lakota people of their rights to use all of said Missouri River, the totality of that river lying within the boundaries of the Lakota Nation. What position does the United States take with respect to this violation?"

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**Article 3.** If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land that it contains less than 160 acres of tillable land for each person, who at the time, may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of persons shall be disposed to cultivating the soil as



farmers, the United States agrees to set apart, for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land, adjoining to said reservation, or as near to the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

**Question Five:** "With respect to Article III of said treaty, we regard the acts of the United States consequent to the Treaty of 1868 as a violation of this article in that we are unaware of any effort by the United States to determine the amount of arable land suitable for the people of the Lakota Nation. Does the United States maintain that it has fulfilled this article of the treaty? If so, when? And how?"

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Article 5. The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency building; that he shall reside among them and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations . . .

Question Six: "With respect to Article V of the treaty we maintain that the United States has failed to enforce the provisions of this article to the benefit of the Lakota people and that far from keeping the agent's office open to investigate cases of depredation on person and property, the agent and his successor, the superintendent, have aided and abetted such depredations and that their actions led directly to the confrontation at Wounded Knee. If the United States feels that it has performed its duties under this article in good faith, can it list its efforts to perform its duties and their results?"

Article 7. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of an education is admitted . . . the United States agrees that for every thirty children between [six and sixteen] years who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher . . .

Question Eight: "With respect to Article VII of the treaty, we maintain that this article provides for a special and ongoing educational program for the Lakota people. We maintain that the United States has not fulfilled the provisions of this article and remains liable to the Lakota people in the field of education. Does the United States maintain that it has fulfilled this article of the treaty? If so, how?"

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**Article 8.** When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate . . . he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value \$100 and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of 3 years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid not exceeding in value \$25.00.

**Question Nine:** "With respect to Article VIII of this treaty, we demand an accounting of the fulfillment of the provisions of this treaty by the United States."

**Article 10.** The United States agrees to deliver at the agency house on the reservation herein named, on or before the first day of August of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

For each male person over 14 years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks.

For each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, 12 yards of calico, and 12 yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woolen hose for each . . .

And in addition to the clothing herein named, . . . it is hereby expressly stipulated that each Indian over the age of four years who shall have removed to and settled permanently on said reservation and complied with the terms of this treaty shall receive for the period of four years after he shall have settled upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier time.

And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians . . . one good American cow and one good well-broken pair of American oxen within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon such reservation.

**Question Ten:** With respect to Article X of this treaty we demand an accounting of the provisions of this treaty by the United States."



Article 11 . . . should roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damages may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or head-man of the tribe.

Question Eleven: "With respect to Article XI of this treaty, we declare that we, the Lakota Nation, have fulfilled this provision. Does the United States maintain that it has fulfilled the provisions of this article of the treaty? If so, when? And how?"

Article 12. No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of the adult male Indians, occupying or interested in the same . . .

Question Twelve: "With respect to Article XII of this treaty, we maintain that the ratification by Congress of this treaty foreclosed the use by the United States of America any other possible means of gaining additional land cessions from the Lakota Nation. Does the United States feel that it has fulfilled the provisions of this article of the treaty? If so, when? And how?"

Article 15. The Indians herein named agree that when the agency house or other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will regard said reservation their permanent home . . .



Question Thirteen: "With respect to Article XV of this treaty, we maintain that when the Lakota People accepted the reservation outlined in this treaty as a permanent home, such acceptance thereby foreclosed any cession of jurisdiction by the United States over the Lakota Nation. How does the United States interpret the phraseology 'permanent home'?"

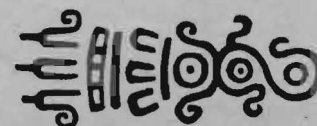
Article 16. The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte River and east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is now agreed by the United States that within 90 days after the conclusion of

peace with all the bands of the Sioux Nation, the military posts now established in the territory in this article named shall be abandoned and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

Question Fourteen: With respect to Article XVI, how does the United States interpret the phrase, "unceded Indian territory"?

Article 17. It is hereby expressly understood and agreed by and between the respective parties to this treaty that the execution of this treaty and its ratification by the United States Senate shall have the effect, and shall be construed as abrogating and annulling all treaties and agreements heretofore entered into between the respective parties hereto, so far as such treaties and agreements obligate the United States to furnish and provide money, clothing, or other articles of property to such Indians and bands of Indians as become parties to this treaty, but no farther.

Question Fifteen: "With respect to Article XVII of this treaty, how does the United States interpret this article insofar as it only abrogates those portions of previous treaties and agreements that obligate the United States to provide money, clothing, or other articles of property?"



## A New Script : FBI & Indians

### FBI in Peace and War: Court Denies Injunction

A month or so after the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee asked U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue for a preliminary injunction against the Federal Bureau of Investigation forbidding it to harass legal workers, the court refused to act.

"It is clear that the committee initiated the confrontations," Judge Bogue said September 28. "A plaintiff who seeks an injunction must come into court with clean hands."

The complaint involved six incidents, including assaults upon legal workers by FBI agents, and surveillance of the legal office.

The judge said there was evidence that the FBI had bought thousands of dollars of electronic surveillance equipment from a Rapid City firm, but there was no evidence that it had used the equipment. As for the fact that the FBI had rented rooms immediately next to the committee's offices, Bogue said this was because the landlord had a practice of giving special rates to federal employees.

WKLDOC had charged that attorney Anthony Muller was assaulted while attempting to photograph an FBI agent outside the motel, a legal worker was pushed down the stairs of the Rapid City Police Station and again assaulted at a U.S. Magistrate's office, and two other men were assaulted taking photographs of agents outside the hotel. The workers had been taking photos of the agents for use as evidence that they were, in fact, being harassed.

But Bogue said it wasn't nice to treat FBI men in that way. "Testimony was clear that the plaintiffs themselves were engaged in a course of action that was designed to take the action to the defendants," Bogue said in his decision, meaning that people who take pictures of FBI should expect to be assaulted.

Bogue said testimony of the FBI agents indicated that the photographers were actually taking photos as close as six inches from the face of the FBI men. Bogue said while the committee could take photos, it could not do so with the main purpose of creating an incident so they could initiate a lawsuit.

"One cannot pursue a course of conduct which precipitates the trouble from which he seeks injunctive relief," Bogue said.

The WLDLOC had also complained of obscene language and gestures by FBI men, and introduced photographs of a man in a car giving an obscene gesture with his hand.

"The obscene language and gestures . . . are, if true, evidence of immaturity, but are not of such a nature to require the injunctive powers of this court," Bogue said. "At any rate, this court does not have jurisdiction over the person of the agent who allegedly was using such language."

As for the arrest of two legal investigators who were photographing license numbers of FBI cars parked around the legal office, Bogue said the FBI had used bad judgment in making the arrests, but even if the arrests were illegal, that was not sufficient grounds for an injunction.

The entire suit will be decided later in a trial. In the meantime, the FBI is at large — and armed.

### RIOT-SQUAD B.I.A. POLICE TRAINED BY U.S. AT SCHOOL USED BY C.I.A.

Los Fresnos, Texas — A special riot-control squad of Bureau of Indian Affairs policemen have been trained by the United States Government at a school the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) uses to train foreign police forces.

Officially called the U.S. Border Patrol Academy, the existence of the school and CIA involvement came to light after probing by Senator James Abourezk into the Agency for International Development (AID).

The U.S. Marshal Service was officially in charge of the BIA police training to form up a highly mobile select crew trained in riot and crowd control, using both physical and "psychological" methods. Police were taught to do such things as march in cadence with their riot clubs in front of them, practicing maneuvers to break up crowds and demonstrations.

During most of the year, the officers will be scattered, manning posts on reservations. But in the event of trouble, they will be immediately sent to the scene where they will work as a unit, according to Eugene Suarez, chief of law enforcement for the BIA.

The AID program, which was not in session while the BIA police were there, includes the use of bomb and incendiary devices, assassination weapons, and other "countermeasures". AID officials say this knowledge is needed to deal with terrorists, but observers of Latin American police operations note that it is the police themselves that function as the terrorists of the people.

The other elite volunteer force to deal with native "disorders" is the Special Operations Group (SOG) of the U.S. Marshals. This task force was much in



An Image Indian Police May Never Have

evidence at Wounded Knee, equipped with the latest in weapons and gadgets, and at the beginning of the occupation, clad in cool blue jump suits.

SOG had been used to "effectively end" the long native occupation of Alcatraz, as well as native occupation in Minnesota, trouble in the Virgin Islands by the predominately black population against white tourists and shopowners, and at a sitdown by protesters objecting to U.S. Navy use of a firing range in Puerto Rico.

According to Wayne Colburn, U.S. Chief Marshal, SOG is deployed only at request of the President of the United States, or the U.S. Attorney General.

SOG members must be more than six feet tall, 26 to 40 years old, and in "outstanding" physical condition. In addition to U.S. Marshal-type skills, he must have two special skills, such as weaponry or demolitions, or a pilot's license.



Even within SOG there are special units. At Wounded Knee, Wayne McMurtrey headed a special four-man anti-sniper team. McMurtrey is typical of the marshals in the unit: he was born in Mississippi, a former Mississippi state trooper and U.S. Marine. Many SOG members are ex-Green Berets.

SOG is commanded by William Whitworth from Washington, D.C. Whitworth said all 110 SOG men were on duty at Wounded Knee.

(Thanks to Pacific News Service and the American Indian Press Association News Service for this information, and thanks also to Terry Devine of Associated Press.)



# A Voice From A.I.M.

LETTERS WRITTEN FROM JAIL CELLS  
BY RUSSELL MEANS AND CARTER CAMP



(This statement was written by Russell Means while he was confined in jail on June 5, following his arrest on charges that he had violated the conditions of his bonded release on charges arising from the occupation of Wounded Knee.)

... The one time in my life that I felt truly free were those 38 days I spent as a citizen of the Independent Oglala Nation.

The treachery of the United States government continues in American Indian Affairs unabated. The agreement of April 5, 1973, reached with the Department of Justice, epitomizes the true, treacherous policies of the United States of America in its dealings with sovereign people around the world. One has only to examine American Indian affairs throughout the history of the western hemisphere to explain the United States' dismal failures in its foreign policy maneuvers — especially in the U.S. relationships with Third World Peoples...

With the Spirits of Big Foot and his people watching over those who came and went and those who chose stay, and with the power of the Sacred Pipe, only two — Lawrence "Buddy" Lamont and Frank Clear Water — were fortunate to find true freedom in the Land of Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull and our Grandfathers. The rest of us are destined to teach our Brothers and Sisters

and those yet unborn the beauty of following the ways of the Great Mystery and being a Redman and being Free.

It is difficult to put down on paper what is in one's heart. The Great Mystery moves in strange ways. While I sit here in solitude in the white man's prison, I feel very strongly the Spirit. It is a good and wonderful experience. It was the same in Wounded Knee when we danced the Ghost Dance again, when we prayed in the Sweat Lodge, when we smoked the Sacred Pipe, when we were in the Yuwipi Ceremony and when we were together.

The People of Wounded Knee, 1973, surrounded by the armed might of the United States of America and engaging that armament almost nightly and sometimes during the day, continued life as only the Redman can. There was always laughter and teasing and singing.

To walk inside the 3 or 4 square miles of the Independent Oglala Nation was to walk in Freedom.

The women inside Wounded Knee 1973 were and are the strength. They knew, as every Red Woman should know, that the Redwoman carries the future of the American Indian Nation within her. Always, I found them busy and concerned, not only with day-to-day happenings, but with the future and they were always willing to talk things out. Every-

one realizes, or should realize, that without our Women, there would be no chiefs.

The finest example of an American Indian is Sally. Sally is 70-some odd-years old. Sally was there from the first night until the last day. She slept on the concrete floor of the basement of the church on the hill. She slept on wooden benches. She cooked and cleaned and washed. Sally never, not once, complained.

At this time, I would like to give thanks:

Great Spirit, Grandfather, thank you for the sun for it gives us life.

Great Spirit, Grandfather, thank you for our Grandmother the Moon, for she watches over our women and cleanses them every month.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Universe, for it is our Tabernacle.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for our Mother, Earth, for she is the Mother of all things that are good and watches over her children.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Four Quarters of the Universe for they bring us all things that are holy and sacred. Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the East Wind, which is Red, for it brings us the Morning Star and the new day to start anew. Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the South Wind, which is Yellow, for it brings us the warmth to make things grow and gives life to the Sacred Tree and strengthens the Nation's Hoop. Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the West Wind, which is Black, for it brings us the Thunder and Lightning to make us strong. Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the North Wind, which is White, for it brings us the cleansing we need, and the blanket to cover our Mother in winter.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Four Sacred Colors: Red, Yellow, Black, White, which represent the four races of man and when mixed together, make the color Brown, the other race of man, and the color of our Mother.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Mountains which give us spiritual strength and direction.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the water which also gives us strength to endure and helps to purify our bodies and our hearts.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Rocks which give us medicine and help to purify our bodies and our hearts in the Sacred Sweat Lodge.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Winged Things of the Air which help to give us direction and a role in life to play and especially the Eagle which can

see the farthest and fly the highest and is faithful to its mate.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Four-Leggeds, which give us food, clothes, utensils and help to give us directions and a role in life, and especially the Buffalo which is sacred and watches over us.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Green Things which are sacred and give us food, shelter, medicine, direction and especially the sacred Tree of Life, which represents the flower of Lakota life.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Things that Crawl and Swim, for they too provide us with food, direction, and spiritual lessons.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for those who have gone before us and provided us with good examples of wisdom, generosity, love, strength, bravery, and direction.

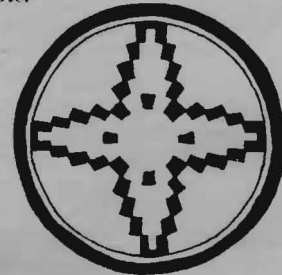
Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for our women for they are truly the strength of our Nation and carry the future of our generations.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the Sacred Pipe for it represents the truth and wisdom, Our Mother Earth, and the Great Spirit, which is the breath of life.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for patience to endure and learn the mysteries of life.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, forgive my weakness for I know I am the weakest of all living things, for I am no more significant in the sacred cycle of life than to be a grain of sand in all the beaches of the world.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, forgive that all that I have to offer the Mystery of the Spirit World and my People is my flesh and blood for I know anything less would insult Grandfather, Great Spirit, and my People.



Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for the humble lessons of life, for I know now, at this very moment, why I am in the white man's prison. It is a good and great lesson in the humbleness of life for tomorrow I will be released. This I know. Grandfather, Great Spirit, thank you for today!

What I say and do has been said and done before me. I am only a Mockingbird.

## BROTHERS & SISTERS

Brothers and sisters,

Our brave leaders such as Crazy Horse, Geronimo, Black Hawk and Joseph have proved our courage and bravery. Haven't they? Or have they?

Can we ignore the deaths of Pedro Bissonette, Richard Oakes, Raymond Yellow Thunder, Philip Celaya, Frank Clearwater, Buddy Lamont, and Larry Casuse and still claim we are descended from these great leaders?

Of course, the argument against accepting responsibility for these deaths is that "renegades and militants" were killed. "Regular" Indians, they say, can live in this country as men. Pride and dignity in the melting pot. Trouble, is the pot always melts white.

All right, ignoring these dead "malcontents," can we ignore the fact of the continued rip-off of our lands, or

that the death rate of Indian babies is twice that of white babies? Would you argue against violence and advise the people to wait for things to get better when you know that several hundred are going to die in jails this year? Is it OK that so many of our people live or exist below the poverty level — in our own land? Isn't it violent when so many of our teenagers are driven to commit suicide because of the hopelessness in their lives? Are things getting better when an 8-year-old boy kills himself in despair on the Pine Ridge Reservation? Some leaders then have the gall to say they agree with AIM goals, but not our violence.

Indian men seem to have decided the best way to live is to beg and wait. Our "leaders" beg Washington, and the rest of us wait for a handout, a favor from the man. Right now, every Indian man should be saying, "That's enough! I will not stand by and let my people be killed!"

Of course, some of us will say, "I'm doing all right — I got a job. I'm making it." It's probably useless to talk to these lost souls, but I must say to them: a person who claims to be an Indian realizes that he's responsible for his people. Period. It does not matter how much you may look like an Indian, or how much Indian blood you have — if you don't accept

your people as your responsibility, you're a honky. Not all honkies are white.

The Cherokees have a tribal chairman who claims to be Indian. He's the ultra-rich chairman of Phillips 66 Oil! Some of his people live on dirt floors, die early, and watch their children go hungry while he flies around in his company jet. I know our grandfather chiefs must be crying — I am.

My sisters, do you remember when a mother taught her sons never to beg? Do you remember when a wife urged her man to battle and endured hardships proudly beside him? Remember when a sister was proud when her brother fought with honor? Can you remember when a daughter was glad to do without if her father gave everything to his people?

If we're to win, our tribal mothers must remember these things. Our values have always been determined by the women. If you cowardly teach your children to play it safe, get a job and accept the whiteman's ways, our people are doomed to live begging and waiting until we slowly die.

You mothers must teach your children from the first to stand for their people.

The younger women of our people must shun the honkies — red and

white. You must clearly show that you want, deserve, and demand a warrior to be close to you. Show no pity.

I can't tell you how deeply I feel that our future depends on you, our sisters and mothers. The most beautiful thing in the world, and the most frightening for the conquerer, is to see an Indian woman standing proudly beside her man, facing the fight together with him, confident of victory.



I'm in jail now, my people, but my heart, my spirit, is free. Soon I'll be among you, fighting with you. We've been here a long, long time — we plan to stay.

With love and respect,

Carter A. Camp  
National Co-chairman  
American Indian Movement  
c/o Minnehaha County Jail,  
Sioux Falls, South Dakota

December 16, 1973



# Elections At Pine Ridge

Since the 1930s, Pine Ridge people have voted for their tribal government in mid-November. However, this time, the council has yet to set a date for the primary election. While no tribal chairman has ever succeeded himself, Wilson would like to try, and his chances do not appear so good. His support has dwindled since the Wounded Knee occupation, and marital problems have caused his wife to sue for divorce, which has damaged his image even further.

Wilson's footdragging in setting a time for the election was recently brought to the attention of both the U.S. Department of Interior and Department of Justice. According to sources in Washington, D.C., representatives from both departments instructed Wilson to attend a meeting scheduled for the second week in November at which time Wilson was to be instructed to hold the election as soon as possible. But Wilson refused to attend, saying that neither department had the right to instruct a sovereign tribe and its chairman when to hold elections. (The Pine Ridge constitution does not set a specific date for elections, just as long as they are held before terms expire in April.)

Elections are usually held in November. With all the pressure, Wilson finally scheduled the primaries for January 22, and the final election will be held in early February.

One change this year may come because of U.S. District Court action brought by Garrett Wounded Head, 18, and Bernadine Nichols, 18, both Oglalas, who are asking for a court order permitting them to vote. They say the new 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution also must apply to tribal elections since it is the U.S. Congressional laws which apply at Pine Ridge.

## A Bill of Complaints for Wilson

Among the complaints which have been leveled at Wilson and the tribal government are these:

**Political Firings:** During the occupation, two women were fired from their jobs with the tribe's community health program for advocating "the overthrow of the tribal government." The women, Geraldine Janis and Barbara Means, both took part in demonstrations that called for Wilson's removal. The demonstrations were peaceful, and both women maintain they were exercising their right to freely express their political views.

**Richard Wilson, Jr.:** Dick Wilson's son, Richard Jr., was named head of a summer employment program and stayed on the payroll at \$520 a month for six weeks after funds ran out to pay others in the program. The younger Wilson also was hired as a temporary deputy U.S. marshal during the occupation. Federal authorities approved his application although he had previously been convicted of a felony, a fact that normally would have excluded him from the service. None of the 38 other Indians so employed had a felony record.

**Mrs. Richard Wilson:** Wilson's wife, Evonne, worked for several years as a secretary in the reservation's Head Start program. Six months after Wilson took office and after the Head Start director had been replaced, Mrs. Wilson was named assistant director at a salary of \$8,000 a year, a pay increase of about 60%.

**Mrs. Richard Wilson Jr.:** Mrs. Richard Wilson Jr. is employed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs welfare office. The tribal government has no direct control over BIA hiring — arrangements are simply cooperative between tribal officials and local superintendents.

**Benjamin (Tote) Richards:** This vocal supporter of Wilson was hired as a \$10,000-a-year assistant director of the tribal ranger program. His application was not handled through normal screening procedure, and he was hired by the executive committee on the same day it received his application. His qualifications and work performance were challenged later by the director of the program, and a review board dismissed Richards. Two months later, however, he was hired again by the executive board as assistant director of the OEO program at \$6,240 a year. The OEO director at the time, Leland Bear Heels, said he was not consulted about the new post and never met with Richards to discuss his duties.

Richards had been employed as a tribal policeman, but when the police department came under BIA control in 1972, the BIA would not rehire Richards. It was then that he was given the new job with Wilson writing a personal recommendation.

**The Executive Committee:** The executive board has the power to handle "routine matters" when the tribal council isn't meeting. It is made up of Wilson, the tribal secretary Toby Eagle Bull, and treasurer Emma Nelson. The vice president, David Long, is supposed to be a member, but he was suspended by Wilson be-



Russell Means . . . one candidate to replace Dick Wilson

— photo by Camilla Smith

cause he belonged to the American Indian Movement. Councilman Everett Lone Hill is also supposed to be on the executive board, but he left the reservation in February in fear after an attempt at impeaching Wilson was thwarted by legal technicalities.

**The Community College Contract:** In September, the executive committee approved a \$252,000 contract to lease and eventually purchase six modular school buildings for the reservation's community college. "Since when," asked dissident councilman Richard Little, "is spending a quarter of a million dollars a routine matter that doesn't have to be brought before the full council? We don't know where the money is coming from, whether the buildings are worth the price, or anything. This way, there's no chance to ask questions. We don't even know if they asked for bids."

**Wilson's 50% Salary Increase:** Since Wilson was elected his salary was increased 50% to \$13,500 a year plus fringe benefits.

*We should legalize  
CRIME, so the Crooks  
wouldn't go into Politics.*



— Everett Sloop / Kainai News

## The Power Structure Gets a Little Help

There is no doubt that an increased cash flow would help the people on the Pine Ridge Reservation — but when that cash flow is controlled in the form of jobs to be doled out by the tribal council, it becomes political payola and corrupt.

So the announcement that a \$614,000 grant was being awarded to the Wilson regime by the United States Economic Development Administration has been greeted with mixed emotion. Coming as it did just a few weeks before the tribal election allows Dick Wilson to look good, garner promises of votes in exchange for jobs, and the strong arm to say that likely all the new jobs will vanish if Russell Means is installed as tribal chairman.

Of all the problems on the reservation, the announcement that the grant is to be used to develop "park and recreation facilities and to build streets and sidewalks at Pine Ridge" might at first be viewed as a bad joke. But the announcement goes on: "Tribal leaders say the improvements will help to attract some of the two million persons who visit the Bad Lands National Monument annually. The monument is just north of Pine

Ridge. The tribe operates a concession in the national monument and plans to encourage visitors to see the reservation."

People without wells or wooden floors in tarpaper shacks probably will not be comforted with the knowledge that tourists will have concrete sidewalks to keep their feet dry in Pine Ridge. With nothing to spend their money on inside the reservation, the increased tourist dollars will benefit only outside motel and trading post operators.

But all of that is immaterial. The \$614,000 is being used to buy people and votes, and this is not the first time the United States has interfered in a foreign election.

There is the pretense of non-intervention, however. When Russell Means attempted to meet with Bradley Patterson, White House minority affairs special assistant, on treaty issues, Patterson declined, saying his refusal was a preventative measure to insure there was no appearance of meddling in tribal elections.

"Someone for sure would accuse us of intervening on the reservation," said Patterson.

## OSCR0 Counts Two Cronies and a Man of Honor

Wilson appointed three persons to sit on the elections board which will count ballots and enforce regulations. His appointments were immediately attacked by the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization as "poor judgment."

The appointments of Robert Mosseau, Jr., and Vincent Thunder Bull were termed "an obvious attempt to control the manner in which the elections will be conducted so that Dick Wilson's re-election will be secured" by Eddie White Wolf, OSCRO secretary.

White Wolf said that Mosseau had been convicted of one count of unlawfully converting tribal funds to the use of another individual, and that he is known to be a good friend of Wilson.

OSCR0 labelled Thunder Bull as "another Wilson supporter. He is employed," it said, "by the tribal council as a judge on the tribal appeals court and he can be easily coerced by Wilson." It was Thunder Bull who was appointed to preside over Wilson's impeachment trial earlier this year, and, according to OSCRO, "the manner in which Thunder Bull conducted that trial clearly showed his partiality and his rulings amounted to the worst miscarriage of justice in the history of the Oglala Sioux Tribe."

The third appointment, that of Two Bulls, however, was praised by OSCRO. "He is a man of honor." It said that the elections would have been in good hands if two persons such as Two Bulls had been appointed to the slots now filled by Mosseau and Thunder Bull.

With the filings still not completed, there were nine persons — including Dick Wilson and three former chairmen — on the ballot. They are Wilson, Enos Poor Bear of Wanblee, Johnson Holy Rock of Pine Ridge, Gerald One Feather of Oglala (all former tribal council presidents); Mario Gonzalez of Wanblee, former chief tribal judge C. Hobart Keith of Pine Ridge; Russell Means of Porcupine, Poker Joe Merrival of Pine Ridge, and Clyde Red Shirt, of Red Shirt Table.

Filing for the vice-presidency, with more candidates expected, were Eddie White Wolf of Calico, Ranzle G. Lays Bad of Porcupine, and Geraldine Janis, Joe American Horse, and Zona Pourier, all of Pine Ridge.



# Is A.I.M. Anti-Catholic?

"AIM Did What the Church Should Have Done"

Debate among Christians as to what to do about AIM is causing sharp controversy. At a regional meeting of the U.S. Bishops' Campaign for Human Development (CHD) this summer, three priests brought conflicting views.

Jesuit Father Paul Steinmetz, who works at Pine Ridge, called AIM "anti-Catholic" and said CHD funding of AIM projects would create a backlash among Catholic Indians.

But Father John Stitz of Kansas City, archdiocesan director of CHD, pointed out that his diocese has funded AIM projects and said, "I'm not ashamed of this. AIM did what the Church should have done."

He was joined by Father Charles Leute, a Dominican missionary at Pine Ridge, who said the Church must share the blame, along with the U.S. Government, for what happened at Wounded Knee.

The Church, like the rest of white America, has denied that "Indians are real people who have real valid things to contribute to our society," Father Leute said.

Steinmetz took issue with AIM tactics and goals. He said that AIM "simply preached raw hatred, day in and day out." He pointed out that a Methodist minister was jumped one night and ended up in the hospital. "It was the first time a Christian missionary was assaulted on the Pine Ridge reservation," he said.

"The basic loyal supporters of the Catholic Church among the Indians are basically anti-AIM," he said, perhaps unwittingly indicating that the Church acts as a means of keeping its members from being active on behalf of their people. "These Catholics are questioning how the Catholic Church can fund an organization that is anti-Catholic."

## "Many People Otherwise Sympathetic"



(This is an extract from an article by John M. Swomley, Jr., which appeared in Fellowship, the journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.)

... Many people who are otherwise sympathetic with the Indian movement for full civil rights, have questioned their use of violence and armed confrontation. The response of AIM leaders is that they have never been dealt with non-violently by the U.S. government, and are merely responding to the structures of violence that have been imposed upon them. Some of them indicate that they have nevertheless been largely nonviolent in a violent context. They indicate that they did not kill any of the marshals or FBI agents that were fighting them. One of them said, "Do you think we were such poor shots that we could not have hit them if we had wanted to?"

An armed confrontation, of course, is not non-violence as Gandhi or Martin Luther King or the Fellowship of Reconciliation understands it. But whites, and especially our official political structures, are the historic and continuing aggressors. It is therefore understandable that Indians should resent being asked by whites to be non-violent.



What is needed now are thousands of whites who will acknowledge their guilt and responsibility for the existing violence, and who will demand from their government nonviolence and justice toward the Indians.

Some current annual per capita incomes:

|                |         |
|----------------|---------|
| United States  | \$4,156 |
| Australia      | 1,979   |
| United Kingdom | 1,660   |
| Czechoslovakia | 1,100   |
| Argentina      | 871     |
| Greece         | 811     |
| Wounded Knee   | 800     |
| Mexico         | 600     |
| India          | 72      |

(Thanks to Preview, the monthly newsletter of Minnesota Educational Radio, Inc., at Collegeville, Minn., and to Paul Gruchow, news director, for the item above and at right.)

## A.I.M.: THEIR BUSINESS IS HOPE

Things won't ever quite be the same again, and that's what the American Indian Movement is all about.

They are respected by many and hated by some, but they are never ignored.

They intend to raise questions in the minds of all, questions which have gone to sleep in the minds of Indians and non-Indians alike.

From the outside, AIM people are tough people. They had to be. AIM was born out of the dark violence of police brutality and the voiceless despair of injustice in the courts of Minneapolis. AIM was born because of a few who knew that it was enough, enough to endure for themselves and others like them who were people without power or rights. They had known the insides of jails, the long wait, the 'no appeal' courts for Indians, because many of them were there.

The AIM idea spread rapidly into the Great Lakes cities because other Indians knew the power of local Indian police watchmen, of local legal aid, or of 'a place to stay' where you could hold up your head and joke.

And from the inside, AIM people are cleansing themselves. Many have returned to the old religions of their tribes, away from the confused notions of a society which has made them slaves of their own unguided lives. AIM is first a

spiritual movement, a religion's rebirth, and then a rebirth of Indian dignity. AIM succeeds because it has beliefs to act on. AIM is attempting to connect the realities of the past with the promises of tomorrow.

They are people in a hurry because they know the dignity of a person can be finally broken or snuffed by despair and a belt in a cell in a city jail. They know the deepest hopes of the old people could die with them, they know that the 'Indian Way' is not tolerated in America because it is not acknowledged as a decent way to be.



Sovereignty, land, and culture cannot endure if a person is not left in peace.

AIM is then a new warrior class of this century, bound by the bond of the drum, who vote with their bodies instead of their mouths.

Their business is hope.

— by Kills Straight, Oglala Nation

The national office of the CHD has given two grants of \$40,000 each to specific AIM projects, and in addition, several dioceses have helped fund local AIM groups. None of the funds have been linked with the events at Wounded Knee.

The Church should not judge any group on "its expressed frustrations," said Father Stitz. "The issue is not the Church — the issue is people's right to live. When you begin counting the people who are standing up with the Indians," Father Stitz asserted, "you run out of people real quick, including the Church." The

question is, he said, "Does the Church really want to stand with the oppressed?"

If the Church has fallen out of favor with many Indians, Father Leute said, it was because the Church has "not been the prophetic voice it should have been" among the Indians. He said that the church has reinforced the power structure's demands that reservation Indians must be complacent and docile.

(Thanks to the Catholic Virginian, the Associated Press, and the Minneapolis Tribune for information used here.)

## Church & Indians

(The Rev. John Adams of the United Methodist Church was sent to Wounded Knee by the National Council of Churches, and was instrumental in effecting a cease-fire before he and other NCC observers were expelled from the reservation by tribal council president Dick Wilson. Later, he reported on his experiences to the Methodist Federation for Social Action, from which this statement is excerpted.)

Most of the people who came out to Wounded Knee — and a whole parade of people came out to Wounded Knee to solve that problem — and do you know what problem they wanted to solve? They wanted to disarm the Indians. That was the solution that they had. I told the AIM leaders: "It's not for me to tell you to take those guns down. I only ask that you use them as non-violently as possible." You had to recognize that that was the only political leverage they had.

No wonder that when most of the white types like myself tried to instruct the Indians in how to be non-violent in protest, we were read out — because they didn't know what in the hell was going on down there!

It was a serious matter. And there were lives at stake. And

if people thought that those who said they were ready to die were just playing, they were wrong. They were ready at that point — not to commit suicide — but to let their deaths be as strategic as possible.



It's kind of interesting that that sacred ground, utilized by a movement in 1973, was so politically power-packed — that was one of the things the government couldn't deal with. What are you going to do when history keeps reminding you that in 1890, 200 or 300 people — who had one gun in their possession — were literally mowed down in those

gulches and buried in a mass grave. They told about a marshal who flipped out — this man told about how one night he kept hearing cries and screams and thought he saw Indians approaching his bunker — he shot at them but they kept coming — and finally they disappeared. The Indians said, "Those were the victims of Wounded Knee. They're all around here."

Many of [the Indians] had an adverse attitude toward the church. I remember Carter Camp looking out the window of the community center down on the array of Christian churches in that area and saying, "You know, it's a blight on the land!" Because he saw the Christian Church as being a part of that history. You read the Treaty of 1868, and you see that there were clergymen who were observers then who attested to that treaty.

But [the Christian Church] can move, and has extraordinary influence, if it'll exert it. But influence has to be exerted upon [the Christian Church] for it to exert its influence. And that's a very large part of our job.

## A 1914 MOVIE REVIEW \* \* \* \* \*

The Moving Picture World, March 14, 1914, reported on the showing in Washington, D.C., for members of President Wilson's cabinet and other dignitaries, of a film by William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody re-enacting "The Battle of Wounded Knee" [1890]:

"No five-cent novel of our boyhood days is nearly as exciting as these pictures; the war dances of the Indians in native costumes, the encircling of the camps of the settlers, the killing of settlers and Indians and the burning of

camps and tepees, horse rustling, scalping, real battles between redskins and troops, wonderful rescues, and other hair-raising thrillers are all to be found in the reels... Following the 'action' one is carried into more peaceful scenes where Indian boys and girls in the uniforms of the schools which they attend are seen saluting the American flag, Indian farmers bringing in the results of a season's work, the schools, agencies, and other modern buildings, and we may also see the latest word in civilization, a seven-passenger touring car."



# A.I.M.: WHAT'S IT ALL ABOUT?



## THE IDEA WAS BORN AT STILLWATER

AIM as an idea was born when Anishinabeg at Stillwater Prison in Minnesota were discussing their situation — the revolving door in and out of jails, the alcoholism that was ruining their lives, and the situation of their families and friends. They decided that there would be no change in their personal tragedies — and no change in the misery of their people — unless they themselves took responsibility for changing the situation. They realized that no government program was going to do what was necessary.

When the men were released from prison, they started to work in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area, providing social services to Indians living in the streets, badgering church groups for funds to supply basic needs, patrolling streets to protect natives from police actions.

Clyde Bellecourt's life is not unusual among native people. He was first arrested at the age of 11 for being truant from school on the White Earth Reservation and he was put in the Minnesota Training School for boys at Red Wing. Later, as a youth, he was in and out of jail, St. Cloud Reformatory, and Stillwater prison for burglary and other offenses. He is one of 12 children, the son of a totally-disabled World War I vet. He received his high-school diploma in prison, and was paroled in 1964. The following year he was hired as a boiler engineer for Northern States Power Co. (NSP).

It was because of his prison experience that he decided that all the energy and anger he was expending in destroying himself and his people could be turned to positive use. In 1968, NSP agreed to give him a paid leave of absence to work on inner-city Indian problems through the American Indian Movement.

One of AIM's first Minneapolis projects was to establish an Indian patrol to monitor the work of police in the concentrated Indian neighborhood of south Minneapolis. Since then, AIM has grown into a national — even international — movement to work for Indian self-determination, for restoration of land, and for social change in Indian relations.

"AIM is built around total Indian self-determination," says 35-year-old Clyde Bellecourt, one of AIM's founders and an active leader in its current affairs. "Every other Indian organization is influenced by the white man."

Dennis Banks was born on the Leech Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota. Over a decade ago, he was sent to prison for a 3½ year term for forgery and burglary. It was there that he and other Indians decided that the time had come for them to take control of their own lives.

Means was born on the Pine Ridge Reservation. His parents left the reservation to work, and he grew up in several states and attended five different universities. He settled in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1968.

"I'm an accountant," he says. "I've also been a thief, a drunk, a computer operator, a rodeo hand, a junkie, a ballroom dance instructor, a janitor, and a farm laborer." His background, while not typical of AIM members, is also not unusual.



Russell Means and Clyde Bellecourt

—UPI

Means, who directed the Cleveland Indian Center for a time, met Banks at an Indian meeting in Minneapolis and returned to Cleveland to found AIM's second chapter.

Russell Means points out that "AIM has never claimed to be representatives of all the Indian people — we represent the facts of Indian life," he said.

Because AIM is a movement, rather than an organization, there is no formal manifesto or statement of purpose. However, a statement of goals written by Means and other AIM leaders is a guide for actions. It reads:

"AIM concerns itself with the nature of social change, including government systems, economic realities, educational processes, and social attitudes and values. The situation regarding the native American people will not be changed by words or polite petition. This has been tried for all of the generations since the late 1880s. And it has always been disregarded as 'plight of the Indian.' It is the responsibility of the Indian people themselves to change realities around them, when these realities are repressive and oppressive. We are simply doing those things that all Indians agree should be done, in a way that will be effective."

The leadership of AIM has provided spokesmen for many protest activities, and often natural leaders of

local movements have formed AIM chapters for the support that association provides.

Other AIM leaders also know the prison route, and since pledging themselves to the transformation of the social circumstances of their people, have been free of criminal charges — excepting from those arising out of protest demonstrations.

Vern Bellecourt was convicted of first degree robbery when he was a teenager in 1953, and was sentenced to five years in the St. Cloud, Minnesota, Reformatory although it was his first offense.

His brother, Clyde, says he has spent more than 14 years in prison. "I've never held back a thing about my record," he says. "One thing they've never published is the fact that I've never stolen from an Indian."

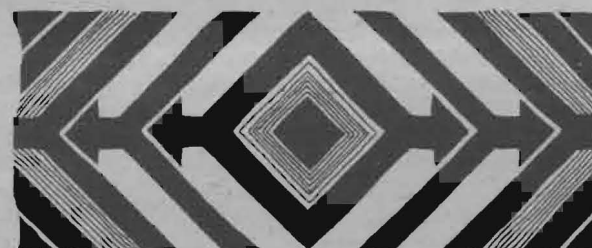
Sheriffs and police chiefs have come to understand that if their men mistreat Indians, the result might be a visit from an invading band of AIM members more defiant and resourceful than many of the more passive people they had been accustomed to dealing with.

Over the last year, AIM's strategies have gradually escalated — or perhaps more militant reactions from police have caused the escalation. However, in each case the federal and local responses were to minimize the incidents and hope that newsmen would forget about them.

What AIM does in the future will depend on the outcome of Wounded Knee. Repression would force the movement underground, causing it to sprout up in actions all over the continent. On the other hand, although it seems unlikely, a gracious peacemaking effort by the United States could bring about renewed hope among Indians resulting in energetic community action.

If things go well, AIM might concentrate on Washington, D.C., to bring about legislative changes including implementation of the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties. Gene Skenandore, director of AIM's Washington chapter, says, "This town has never seen anything like the effort we're going to make. We're going to force the Government to make big changes — and help us get rid of those stereotypes of the noble savage and the drunken Indian."

(Thanks to Glenn Toelstrup of the Denver Post)



(These pages of background information on the American Indian Movement are provided to answer the many questions received by NOTES on "what is AIM and what are its purposes." We hope they will prove useful in helping readers to answer those questions for themselves. The Editors.)

## A.I.M. CONVENTION AT WHITE OAK

People from many Indian Nations came together at White Oak to unite as one. We came with our ideas to share in uniting in the fight that concerns All People. Here we gained a little more knowledge of the road we are on.

One of our leaders said, "It's hard to be an Indian today." We asked ourselves, why this man, thirty years older than most of us, is saying this. Why should it be hard to be an Indian?

We live a life that is not ours. Today we can see with our own eyes where the whiteman and his road are going. We believed the whiteman when he told us his way of life is good and our lives would be better if we followed his ways. He took his language so that we could no longer hear ourselves think. We took his machines that caused our body, mind, and spirit to be weak. We have become dependent

on his ways so that today, it is hard to be ourselves.

Today, we can't just claim blood and say we're Indians. There's more to being Indian than that, and the road there is a hard road. We have to get our minds, hearts, and spirit together, and think with a clear mind.



AIM is a movement that concerns all native people. It is a movement to bring about a realization to our people of the importance of our lives as a native person. Our forefathers were in this movement. Sitting Bull, Geronimo, Joseph, Popé and many many more fought in the movement. Each nation — Navajo, Creek, Paiutes — had its own

movement. After the whiteman made his move to destroy our life, the American Indian Movement began.

Today when we hear that AIM has taken over a building, our thoughts run the way the whiteman wants it. We think of young militant Indians. Young rebels who will stop the funding to our reservation. We think of the money we will lose for that new BIA project. We think only of ourselves. And this is exactly how the whiteman wants us to think.

Many of us are caught in the whiteman's system so that we can no longer think for ourselves. When we hear of a young Indian, a gun in his hand and the U.S. flag hanging upside down on his shoulders, we should try and understand his actions. We will only think of hate for our brother — and not the reasons for his actions. The whiteman enjoys seeing a brother against a brother. What we do not see in the newscast is grandma, 80 years old, standing right beside the young. She knows her actions. We don't see our forefathers, but they too are there. We don't see our children, but they are there too. In a movement, we have a whole nation.

In the movement are the wise people with wisdom and knowledge. In the

movement are the leaders who have knowledge in dealing with political actions. These leaders have a great responsibility to the people. Every movement has its warriors. They have committed their lives for our children, many yet unborn.

Also we have our spiritual leaders. We need more guidance from them. We need to give our bodies, hearts, mind and soul to the spirit of life. If we believe in life, we will always have life.

Now that we have talked of our oppressor and the oppressions we have been living under, what now? We must throw away the ideas of others as to how we should live. We must throw away his drugs which make us what we are not. Alcohol is one of whiteman's destroyers of our spirit. We have to know our language so we can think clearly again. We have to show our children how to live — we have dreamed the whiteman's dream long enough, and now we must face reality.

We saw at the convention that we have a long road to travel, but now that we have found each other, we will all walk together.

—Tsa-wa  
Tewa Nation



# Letter To A Nebraska Housewife

Dear Lady, ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In one of your bad dreams, a motorcycle rackets down the country road, and, before you have time to think, to grab your robe and flick on the bedlamp and call out, the engine coughs and dies; you hear the cicadas stop short and a shadow, darker than the darkness, appears at the open bedroom window and then passes swiftly over the sash, to crouch there in the dim silence with you. A low, harsh breathing.

You suck in air to scream, but even as your throat tightens there is a flash of moonlight along a blade and you find every muscle paralyzed, the air in your lungs suspended. Your eyes suddenly fill with tears and you cannot stifle a tiny, hard sob.

A gust of wind billows the curtains aside bringing moonlight and the sound of sycamore leaves. In the brief wash of light something about his clothing shines, like scales. In silhouette you can see shaggy hair, but the face remains black, black, black. Two tiny stars glitter in the eye caverns, and you know he is looking straight at you. From some unknown, insane pressure, your breathing has fallen into rhythm with his, and you wait, still paralyzed, for his voice. You expect a coarse demand, but what comes is a low, rasping laughter: "I howl my joy."

He is moving now, still laughing, the blade is lifting, and you cave in to your knees, head up and mouth open. And what ensues then: the hot wet blows, the shuddering, the terrible indistinct knowledge, the forcing, widening, rending — all this remains ill-defined. We both know that you would endure unspeakable acts, acts whose mere suggestion provokes a disgust so profound that your mind recoils before an image can form. Yet these unimaginable things happen. They will happen more and more often now. No more "crime in the streets." Instead, crime in your very bedroom, kitchen and basement (that's where Perry methodically blew out the brains of the Clutter family) and crime of a very personal, physical kind. Yes, good lady, "crime" means all of those unspeakable acts, but especially what your local paper will describe as "cold-blooded murder" and "senseless killing" and "sexual assault."

Yet you have been a kind soul, perhaps devout, certainly a believer in the power of Christian mercy. You may have contributed funds for the Hungarian refugees, for the victims of the Chilean earthquake, for the starving Biafrans and Pakistanis. You surely pass on your outmoded clothes and appliances to the needy crippled and poor of St. Vincent's or Good Will. You save the last piece or two of cake for the smallest child. Your garden furnished zucchini to the whole neighborhood. Believe me, in a thousand ways you command my affection and respect (emotions made keener by a whisper of nostalgia), for the warmth and sustenance you provide so unstintingly are the compost necessary to the flourishing of any hope for the human spirit.

Yet — and I must plead here for your indulgence — I want to speak to you of that prowling shadow, created a few paragraphs back, to menace you. Bear with me now, dear lady! Suspend your anger and disgust a little longer. My aim is only to help you — us — foresee what may soon come, to bring us to an understanding of those dark powers, "violence" and "crime", now unleashed in our land; yea, even in the country of clapboard and corn, and hogs, and screen doors, and deep-dish cobblers, and rope swings from big elms.

To help us understand, we must begin by imagining a time before there was a "Nebraska," a time when there were no freeways or supermarkets or radio stations. Then there was only a great sweep of grass, and of course, the buffalo and



antelope, the rabbits and prairie dogs, the coyotes and rattlesnakes. Perhaps you have always thought of this land at this time as "empty" or even "uninhabited." But you really know better, don't you? You had it in school; and even now you must see here and there the little remembrances: the "Teepee Village" motel, with a drawing of a curvaceous Minne-ha-ha in a leather bikini; the Big Chief burger, the knickknack souvenirs — toy moccasins and tomahawks for kids.

Can you imagine that time, before the Red Men were part of the history of "Nebraska", before they vanished into books? It isn't long ago, really. A few survivors of Sand Creek and Wounded Knee were around when you were a girl. Nor is it hard to envision, with a little help from Hollywood. You know they rode like the wind — no saddle at all and a mere strip of rawhide for a bridle — sending arrows into a buffalo's hump at full gallop.

With your good, country, common, horse sense you can perceive that these people were proud of themselves, superior beings in their own eyes — like all people. Their ways were the true ways, defined and renewed by chief and medicine man year after year. It seemed to them right and honorable to hunt buffalo and steal horses from each other. What they could see of the earth — those endless, endless plains — seemed their natural home, a free gift of the Great Spirit. Thousands of beasts and birds and plants shared this earth with them, were part of the busy pattern of their lives: flint and feathers from this place, quills from that, fish bones from another, lodge poles from the distant hills, red willow bark for smoking from the marsh, bitumen paint out of dry washes. You might have been surprised, yourself a busy bee with PTA and Church Bazaar, at how much hard honest industry was needed to belong to this society.

You know, too, how such effort becomes dear: the sweat and rage that go into building a house, or paying off a mortgage, into tomato seedlings, into a son's fifth birthday party, into getting that letter to the editor just right, into painting window trim (all corners and ridges) — all these make your world sweet as life itself. In fact, life is unimaginable without your house and trees, with all their sags and crooks, without the familiar sound of chickens, children, television, and distant, the old John Deere lugging down on the pull, without the gleaming corridors and floating music and soap smells of the Supermarket, without friends and enemies and gossip.

You know all this because once in a terrible while the thought occurs: what if they were to take all this from us? Our farms taken over by the state, all of us driven into camps, issued gray uniforms, separated from our families, forced to pledge allegiance to a foreign flag, deprived of Lawrence Welk and Roy Acuff, everything written and uttered in an incomprehensible gabble . . .

Those moments of secret horror prove to you how precious is your world. The world of the Oglala was equally dear to them, you understand that, don't you? But within a few years, for them, the horror came to pass. The white man came, not by night, but shining and clanking in open day. At first, they wheedled, but then they reached sufficient numbers and simply took. They scraped away the soil to make

wide roads, cut trees to build bridges; then built the iron road and fences and towns. Finally, Omaha and Chicago and San Francisco. They always came thickest, like locusts, where they found the yellow stuff in the ground. How amazed the Red Men were at this! White men would slaughter them and each other for a handful of stone!

It did not take long — about 40 years — to kill most of the plains Indians and put the rest in concentration camps. They were killed thoroughly, dear lady, men, women, and children alike. Can you imagine that? The charge of tall, fair-skinned men with hair on their faces? Cannon whose thunder would tear off a leg or arm or head? Men all dressed alike who moved in a line and, upon order, cut chopped at every living thing, like a row of macabre dancers, mocking harvest ceremony? And after all that, the bleak gritty camps in alien territory, where there was always too little to eat, too little to wear, and no hope. Some, of course, tried to escape. They starved or froze or were exterminated as at Bear Paws and Wounded Knee.

The strange, mad cruelty of these assaults must have baffled the Indians, especially when they were preceded by a plea for the new God — gentle, passive Christ who allowed himself to be nailed to a tree without a word of protest. But soon, like black men before them, the Red Men embraced that God, and all the other ways of white men. They had no weapons; their horses were gone; their children forgot the mother tongue; their women were white men's whores. They could die, empty, or try to become like the terrible race who would otherwise exterminate them.



Or . . . they could vanish into myth, becoming a pop symbol for future avengers. A symbol of everything wild and blood-crazed. "Savages". Hollywood created the type — a blood-curdling shriek clothed in paint and feathers. Though of course the Cavalry always won (by daylight again, sabers flashing and flags snapping in the wind), the real power of these films could be traced to the fascinating horror of Indian tactics: they crept in the dark forest with arrow and knife, or they swooped down in a surprise attack (tarnation! terrorists!) To hone this horror to its finest, excruciating edge, Hollywood had its feathered scowls and shrieks abduct a white woman, rending her modest mother hubbard in the struggle. How our little hearts pumped with anxious terror then, children huddled in the flickering twilight of the front rows, sprinkled with the dirty hail of popcorn

and candy wrappers, stinking of kiddy pee! We saw those giant white shoulders loom over us, streaked with a rivulet of bright blood! Our own mothers and first grade teachers stripped and lashed before our starting eyes!

Those terrible images sank into your mind, perhaps, as they did into mine, and are the stuff of which these bad dreams are made. But there is more at stake here: the nightmare trespasses into life! Dark tides of long-maned men surge at the borders of "Nebraska" and in their hearts simmers the rage to murder. (I am frightened too, good lady, but let us try to master the panic and understand.)

Consider: why should we perpetuate this myth of the sneaking savage? The worst carnage was the work of our ancestors — your grandfather and mine. Yellow Wolf tells us how Colonel Gibbon surprised Joseph's people at dawn on the Big Hole, directing cross-fire into their lodges. One bullet, he remembers, tore off the hand of a month-old baby. This, mysteriously, more than the outright slaughter of many other women and children, enraged the braves. James Mooney, an "ethnologist," describes with reluctant certitude how the Seventh Cavalry rode down the fleeing women and children at Wounded Knee and shot them in the snow like so many rabbits. He also tells of a three-months-old baby girl, dug out of a drift only "slightly frozen" three days after the massacre: she wore a little cap of buckskin upon which was embroidered in beadwork, an American flag. Touched, the wife of General Colby (commander of the Nebraska troops), adopted her. Or read Mrs. Kroeber's account of the joyous abandon with which degenerate offspring of the "forty-niners" massacred the Mill Creek Indians — except for Ishi, who finally threw himself on white men's mercy, lived dutifully according to their ways, became momentarily famous as an exhibit in their museum, and then died of their diseases.

But this is all "history", you may say. Over and done with. Unfortunate — tragic even — but beyond redemption. True enough. Redemption is indeed impossible, and this implies that our guilt is ineradicable. The knowledge of these crimes and that other, the long shadow of slavery, haunts us. Red and black. Night and blood. Nigger commies. Dirty devil-spawn hippies. We fear them, because now we know how dear to man is the simple, established order of his life, and hence we infer how much hatred we must bear for having annihilated that order for others.

Ancestral crime (the Bible and Doctor Freud agree) does not wither in time. The Lakotah blood beneath your feet still cries out. Not for revenge — please understand, revenge is not relevant. No, the cry is to the lost and broken still among us, the survivors, and it tells of the bloody horror hidden in the heart of white men. They react, as you yourself react, with hatred born of fear, but their fear is confirmed and energized by their own continuing destruction.

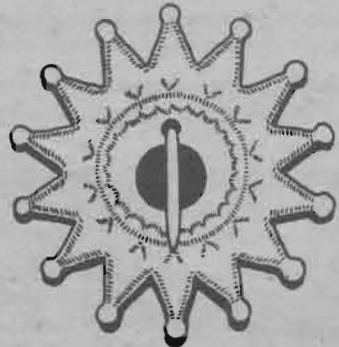
Ours is "projected" as celluloid red devils who are made to perform our atrocities so that we are not forced to hate ourselves. The hardest thing to grasp, dear lady, is that our deepest fears, our nightmares, are rooted in our fearsome selves. All our crimes, from Wounded Knee to My Lai ride with that angel of death on his roaring motorcycle. In this dream country, we must learn that those who come to destroy, have been destroyed.

Perry Smith who giggled after he had blown the Clutter family all over their own basement walls, was a half-breed Cherokee. When he wet the bed at night in the orphanage, the hooded nuns beat him with a flashlight.

(This essay was written for NOTES by Will Baker, of the University of California at Davis, after a visit to Wounded Knee / Rapid City.)



# Great Lakes



## MENOMINEES — BACK ON THE ROAD TO STRENGTH AS CONGRESS RIGHTS WRONG

Washington, D.C. — In what was described as a reversal of United States policy toward native people, the House voted October 16 to undo a 1950s injustice and restore full Government services to the Menominee people of Wisconsin.

The question was then moved to the Senate, where the Indian Affairs subcommittee was holding hearings on a similar measure.

The House vote was 404 to 3, with Republican Representatives Robert R. Hanrahan of Illinois, Earl F. Landgrebe of Indiana, and James M. Collins of Texas voting against it. Speaker after speaker described the bill as a repudiation of the "termination" policy undertaken during the Eisenhower/Nixon Administration in the 1950s.

"The idea was to make Indians as much like white people as we could and then cut them off from the Federal relationship," said Representative Lloyd Meeds, a Democrat of Washington state. Meeds contended that the policy had been a failure, as the once-prosperous Menominees had slipped after termination and are now "tottering on the brink of collapse."

Other terminated tribes are now expected to seek restoration of BIA services, but for many, it will be a difficult matter since their land has been split up into allotments. The Menominee land was preserved as a unit under a special corporation.

Common Cause, the national lobbying group for popular causes, supported the Menominee legislation and employed a lobbyist to help it pass the House.



—photo by Ted Hetzel

Ada Deer . . . "We [Menominee] women can be leaders and role models for all women."

The House bill, as passed, was only a partial victory. Menominees point out that some essential issues, such as the transfer of Menominee land back into trust status, and tribal control of hunting and fishing rights, have yet to be dealt with by the Congress. Getting de-terminated is more complicated than getting terminated, it seems.

Much of the success of the Menominee drive is due to the efforts of three women, each working in their own way. Sylvia Wilbur is chairman of the board of Menominee Enterprises, Inc., the tribal business wing. She is in charge of planning the company's direction, chairing meetings, co-ordinating research, and "meeting with any Menominee who wants to talk about the business."

Shirley Daley is director of DRUMS, the Menominee political wing which was the spearhead of the move to reverse the trend of termination. And Ada Deer is chairman of the MEI voting trust, which selects the board, and as well has been the chief lobbyist in Washington to shepherd the legislation through Congress.

"We women are leaders," Ada Deer says, "but not just for our own people. We can be leaders and role models for all women."

## RACIAL TENSION CAUSES NATIVE YOUTH "TO SNAP"; LEAVES TRAIL OF VIOLENCE

Sandstone, Minnesota — Strained racial relations between whites in Sandstone and a small community known as "Indian Village" outside nearby Markville, Minnesota, apparently caused a 17-year-old Anishnawbe youth to go berserk October 1, leaving a wake of violence in his trail.

By the time the youth (who because of his age is not identified by name) was arrested, he had shot at two men in a parked car, wounded two others in a city park, raped two elderly women, and then wounded the Pine County sheriff in an exchange of gunfire.

Earlier in the day, there was a bomb threat at the high school, and the school was evacuated. Authorities found no bomb, but ordered the school closed for fear of a delayed bombing device. Authorities said they didn't know if there was any link between the bomb threat and the shootings, but the threat had added to the tension of the community.

Mrs. Delphonse Sahbaiah, head of the extended family household in which the youth resided, said constant racial tension, intensified since last July, had led the youth "to snap".

The reaction in Sandstone indicated there certainly was lots of tension. William Jokela, Sandstone mayor, said that rumors spread quickly about the shootings. A "very explosive" situation developed, he said, with people from the community riding around in cars with guns. On the advice of Pine County Sheriff John Kozisek, the mayor called an overnight curfew, closed bars and the municipal liquor store, and asked residents to stay off the streets in Sandstone, located about 80 miles north of the Twin Cities.

"There was talk that there might be an accomplice," Mayor Jokela said, "and we were afraid there might be action against that family." By "that family" the mayor apparently meant his native neighbors. "You know what bar talk can do," the mayor added.

The youth was shot by policemen upon his arrest, and was listed as being in serious condition in the University of Minnesota Hospitals in Minneapolis, where he underwent surgery.

(Thanks to United Press International, and to Susan R. Welch and Peg Meier, staff writers for the Minneapolis Tribune.)



## TOURIST OPERATORS SQUEAL AS ANISHNAWBEG ASSERT RIGHTS

Hayward, Wisconsin — A partial restriction on hunting by non-Indians on the Lac Court Oreilles reservation near here has caused complaints from Sawyer County businessmen who say the ban infringes on their right to make a living from tourism.

Resort owners say they can't understand why the tribal council wanted to close the area, a move it took just recently, because the Anishnawbeg profit from tourism too.

However, Rick Baker, tribal council chairman, said that "the few jobs and few dollars we get from tourism is negligible. The resorters," he said, "feel the natural resources of the reservation should go for their own private benefits, but the land was placed in trust for the Indians."

More important, Baker said, was the fact that there is a 58% unemployment rate on the reservation, and that with rising costs of food, "all our natural resources are needed for our own tribal people to survive."

Paul Albrecht, publisher of a paper that promotes tourism here, says resort owners and other businessmen are angry about the ban, and worried about being hurt financially.

"The resorters have suffered," Albrecht says.

Also opposed to the ban is a group called The Alliance of Progressive Indians, headed by Burt Wolf, who runs a campground which could be hurt by the restrictions.

(Thanks to Michael V. Uschan of United Press International.)

## MICHIGAN TRIBES GAIN APPROVAL TO ARREST THEIR OWN PEOPLE ON RESERVE

Lansing, Michigan — Attorney General Frank J. Kelley ruled October 30 that Indian tribes have authority to establish police forces for their reservations, and that those police units may receive federal grants.

Kelley said that "depending on the nature of the crime," either the tribe itself or the federal government has responsibility for offenses committed by Indians within the reservation.

For example, while tribal police have exclusive jurisdiction over Indians who violate tribal ordinances, federal law enforcement officials, including members of the tribal police deputized as federal marshals, have jurisdiction over Indians committing federal offenses on reservation land.

"The state remains responsible for law enforcement activities directed at offenses by non-Indians," Kelley said. "However, the federal government has jurisdiction over an offense involving both Indians and non-Indians." (United Press International)

## CHICAGO NATIVE YOUTH APPEAL TO ORGANIZATIONS TO QUIT SQUABBLING

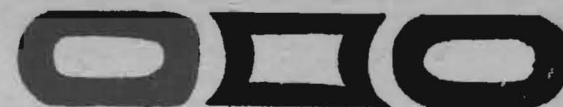
Chicago, Illinois — A group of native youths have demanded that Chicago's native organizations stop fighting among themselves and begin working together for the common good. The appeal for unity was made at a special meeting called by Colin Wesaw, leader of an informal caucus of Indian young people from Uptown Chicago.

In the uptown area, there are at least ten native organizations, including AIM, Native American Committee, Native American Outpost, St. Augustine Center, Indians for Indians, Native American Publications, Seven Nations, and the Native American Program, plus the American Indian Center.

Wesaw told representatives of these ten groups that one of the main reasons Chicago's large native population is kicked around so much is that they themselves can't agree on anything much. The leaders of the native community, Wesaw charged, sometimes have spent more time battling over personalities than serving their people.

Wesaw suggested that each organization could keep its own identity, and still pool its resources and strengths into collective efforts.

(Thanks to Pat Butler of Lerner Newspapers for this info.)



Minneapolis, Minnesota — The Minneapolis City Council accepted bids October 12 for construction of a new Urban American Indian Center. The two-story structure will provide social services, cultural activities, and recreation.

The total cost of the building and site will be \$2.4-million, two thirds of which will be paid by the federal government as a special pilot project for urban native peoples.

(Thanks to Eric Pianin of the Minneapolis Star for information.)

Duluth, Minnesota — Eddie Benton, former director of the American Indian Movement chapter in St. Paul, has been appointed as lecturer in the American Indian Studies program at Scholastica College here, effective November 5.

Benton is Anishnawbe Fish Clan, Lac Courte Oreilles band. He will teach courses at the college, which has doubled its native student enrollment this year, and which has a mobile unit for taking cultural events and programs to reservations and regional schools.



# MOHAWK NATION AT KANAWAKE EVICT NON-INDIANS



— photo by Gerry Davidson / Montreal Star

A youth pauses for a smile of satisfaction after an angry crowd of Mohawks protested arrests and massive police presence on their reserved nation lands near Montreal

**Mohawk Nation at Kanawake (Caughnawaga, Quebec)** — New strength and support from the people of Caughnawaga has come to the Mohawk Nation government here as the result of a campaign by the Warriors' Society to evict almost 1,000 persons who have taken up residence on reservation lands.

During the course of the month-long struggle, a Canada-style Wounded Knee kind of situation was narrowly averted when the Quebec Provincial Police negotiated its departure from the reserve as demanded by American Indian Movement members and the Mohawk Nation council.

Some of the families are "paper Indians." They are descended from families of whites who have kept a separate non-Mohawk identity since they came to the reservation a century ago. However, the Canadian Government defines an "Indian" as a person descended through the male line from a person entitled to hold Indian land in 1876 — thus all these families have Canadian identification cards stating that they are "Indians". The Iroquois Confederacy does not recognize the right of the Canadian Government to define who is a member of their nations.

Kirby charges that the Longhouse, as Mohawk nationals are called, wants to "control my office". They want a dictatorship, not a government of all the people," he asserted. He charged that the reason he had not been successful in achieving compromise with the Longhouse is that they were being "stirred up by a few professional agitators" from the American Indian Movement from the United States.

In September, the Warriors' Society sent eviction notices to white families who lived on the reserve. The letter gave the whites until September 18 to move.

The band council, led by Ron Kirby, passed a by-law, which was approved by the Minister of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, giving non-Indians until October 15 to leave. However, they by-passed some families who are recognized by the Canadian Government as being entitled to live on the reserve, and included some Mohawk women who had married non-Mohawk men, a move which the Warriors' Society had not made.

Most of the non-Mohawk families rent premises from Indian landlords at lower rents than they would probably have to pay elsewhere. They benefit from the municipal services on the reserve, have a pleasant location near Montreal, no property tax. But they also occupy houses badly needed by Mohawk families.

Kirby wants to establish a system of permits which would enable some "desirable" white families to continue to live on the reserve. However, The Mohawk Nation Council fears this would just be consolidating the hold white people — and the band council — already have there.

The Warriors' Society began going door-to-door Sept. 18, saying that they did not want violence, and urged families intruding on the reservation community to leave. After the first few hours of this action, the seven-man police force employed by the band council resigned "because the people won't listen to us."

On September 18, late in the evening, Kirby stood in front of his band council and announced that the "violence is over" and that as many federal and provincial police as necessary were patrolling the reserve and would be available in the event of trouble.

Kirby added that the eviction notices of the Warriors' Society should be disregarded.

"If there are any more outbreaks like this," Kirby said, "we will send in enough cops to squash the violence. We have four Quebec police in each of ten cars, several RCMP, and more than 1,000 officers ready to come in." He said Quebec Justice Minister Jerome Choquette and Canada's Solicitor General Warren Allmand had sanctioned use of their police forces.

Later, Kirby charged six members of the Warriors' Society with threatening, intimidating, mischief, and depriving others of property. They pleaded "not guilty" October 2, saying that no Quebec court has authority to try them for offenses committed on the reserve, since it is land under title to the Iroquois Confederacy, and has never been surrendered to Canada or Great Britain.

Further proceedings against them were postponed until the Quebec Superior Court resolved that issue.

Charged with intimidation were Paul Delaronde, Sandor Rice, Peter Jacobs, and Julien Delaronde. Judge Rene Drouin signed summons for their appearances after receiving complaints from Kirby.

There are a dozen or more AIM chapters in Canada. After the Wounded Knee occupation, RCMP officers have been keeping tabs on activities of AIM members.

For the Canadian Government, Jean Chretien said "I know there is some Americans here trying to stir up trouble, and I think it is not their business and they should not be here. I also think that the

Canadian Indians are big enough and old enough to defend their own rights and they don't need outside help."

Kirby also sought a court order requiring royaner Louis Hall to keep the peace. Kirby charged Hall with intimidation of his family and himself.



Mayor Ron Kirby ... "the trouble is being stirred up by a few agitators"

Despite Kirby's assurances of outside police protection most of the non-Mohawk residents decided to move out. As a result of the exodus, there was an easing of the housing shortage for Mohawks. Landlords — although of Mohawk descent themselves — who have given preferential treatment for years to whites are renting, some for the first time, to Mohawks. One landlord who rented five homes to white people said he had received over 50 calls from Mohawks who wanted to rent the homes.

## Police Fail Gift of House for Needy

Rather than to have some of the recently-vacated houses go back to the band council, which could lease them out again to white residents (with permits to make it all perfectly legal), the Warriors' Society decided to occupy one home. It said that the home would be available to any family that needed it, some family which had been struggling and could really use the help.



The occupation was peaceful — until the Quebec Provincial Police arrived, and demanded that the small occupation party leave the house. Police smashed several windows, and threatened to throw in gas grenades. The Warriors' Society negotiated a truce under which they would leave the dwelling for the time being, providing their departure would be peaceful.

However, as they left the house, the police riot sticks began to fly, and a free-for-all erupted. The Warriors' Society, angered by the broken agreement, set a fire in the house. By the time enough Mohawks had converged to balance the battle, seven men had been arrested and hauled away.

Police reinforcements arrived by the score until the reservation was an armed camp. And it was the presence of so many French policemen on their reservation that even the most uninvolved and passive individuals could not take.

A crowd of Mohawks gathered around the council's small police office and fire hall, and demanded that the seven men arrested be released by 8 p.m. The deadline came, with no releases. Power into the building was cut off, and an angry crowd of perhaps a thousand Mohawks overturned police cruisers, crushing their roofs like cardboard, and smashing the windows of other vehicles. Policemen were sent on the run. Three cruisers were completely destroyed and four others were left useless. It was not long before all police had cleared out at least as far as the reservation line to await reinforcements.



Anything in the police cars was removed — one youth ran down the street wearing a policeman's hat and waving a flashlight. Attache cases were taken and smashed on the street. Important QPP papers were blown away by the winds.

Elected council supporters were bitter about the trouble, reported as "the fury of mob violence" by the *Montreal Star*. "No comment on what happened. Now get the hell out of here," one council-employed fireman told a reporter.

Mohawks had their own village liberated until hundreds of riot-equipped officers arrived, patrolling the reserve in groups of four men huddled in their cars. When the police would find an isolated Mohawk they would stop and beat on him. One hapless youth was savagely attacked as he stood on a street corner, books and lunch bucket in hand, as he waited for a ride to school: he had a Longhouse emblem on his jacket. He was left lying on the street as the police drove away.

Over a half-dozen cruisers, each with four men, ringed the home of "Chief" Ron Kirby, protecting him from his own people.

Later, when Kirby went to his office, a ten-man police force was his constant companion, and a QPP officer cleared anyone who wanted to see Kirby. He sat in his council chambers, windows covered with plywood and wire-mesh after being torn out by his opposition. Police kept him informed of the movements of traditional people.

The entrance to the Longhouse area was blocked with cars and guards. Foxholes were dug around the perimeter of the property, reinforced with sandbags and manned with all-night sentries.

In nearby Lachine, Mayor Chartier told employers in his town they should suspend any Caughnawaga workers on their payrolls. While the city council there did not go along with the retaliation, it did order a withdrawal of emergency fire-fighting assistance for Caughnawaga until responsibility for possible damages was clearly assigned.

The courts were equally irate. Four arrested Mohawk men, Allan Delaronde, 34; Thomas Delaronde, 32; James Deer, 21; and Pat Goodleaf, 18, were held in jail until they would agree on conditions of their release: they were not to return to their homes on the reserve, they must report weekly to the Quebec Provincial Police, they must not communicate with anyone on the reserve, and they must not carry weapons.

Crown prosecutor Jack Weissman maintained bail should be refused completely for reasons of public security. The accused appeared in the courtroom handcuffed until objections were made by their attorney.

The Delarondes and Deer were charged with breaking and entering the vacated home, owned by white resident Jean-Guy Meloche. They are also charged with conspiracy to commit arson, arson, and mischief. Goodleaf faces a single charge of obstructing police, who said he tried to remove the handcuffs from a Mohawk prisoner.

In court, royaner Louis Hall said that the Law of the Great Peace which governs the people of the Longhouse dates back many centuries, whereas the Band Council was only established in 1890. He said that the imposition of the band council by the Canadian Government was a violation of treaties, as well as an interference with the sovereign right of the Mohawk Nation.

Shaky from the rout of the police, government officials began to fear what might happen next. Indian Affairs Minister reassured the House of Commons that police and immigration officials were watching for members of the Black Panthers' organization who were coming in, supposedly, to help the Longhouse.

The reserve was sealed off — police cars were at every entrance, stopping and searching those who entered.

"It's maybe 100 to 150 people who are causing the trouble here," Ron Kirby told the press. "About 90 per cent of the people are behind myself and the band council."

Tension began to mount again with the men held in jail on such conditions, and on October 20, Justice Albert Malouf of the Court of Queen's Bench eased bail so that the four could be released — and so they could return to their own homes.



Still, the Mohawks at Caughnawaga were angry as news about brutality at the hands of Quebec Provincial Policemen circulated. Mike Myers, Canadian chairman of the American Indian Movement, met with some victims of brutality and lawyer Gaetan Robert to discuss filing of a suit. One problem arose immediately: although it was certain the police who assaulted Mohawks indiscriminately and without reason were members of the QPP, it would be almost impossible to identify individual officers.

"I didn't get a chance to look at anything — they [the police] were pulling my hair and hitting me," Rodney Jacobs said. He and his wife, Elizabeth, were returning from a shopping trip when they were stopped by two QPP officers who ordered them out of their car and demanded identification.

Jacobs said he told officers he would get out of the car, but wanted an assurance there would be no violence. One of the officers pointed his revolver at Jacobs; the gun was cocked and ready to fire. His wife became hysterical — finally both were handcuffed and put in separate cars.

"Before I was put in the car, seven of them were around me and hitting me with their clubs. One of them grabbed my wife's breast," he said. The young couple were brought to a nearby QPP station and later released without charges being filed.

Several others who were beaten had written doctor's statements on what type of injuries they had sustained.

Concerned over the mounting unrest, Quebec Provincial Police inspector Y.R. Aubin met with royaner Louis Hall representing the Longhouse council, Mike Myers of the American Indian Movement, and legal counsel Gaetan Robert. Three suggestions were made as to the defusing of the situation: reduce the QPP force by 50%, withdraw the stop and search order, and create a channel of communication to handle complaints of police harassment. Aubin turned down all three suggestions.

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Non-Indians often wonder why native people get "militant" and don't achieve change "through the system." Two years ago, Steve McCumber (at left), pleaded with authorities at the off-reserve school he attended to make changes: less discrimination, more respect for Mohawk culture. The changes didn't come about, and the Mohawks had to start their own "Indian Way School." At right, Steve McCumber, head bloodied, arrested by provincial police for occupying a vacant house.





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As a result, lines of armed defense around the 2½-acre site of the Longhouse were tightened — the only free land in Caughnawaga which was not penetrated by the Quebec invasion force.

A few days later, after still more meetings, the Quebec police agreed to withdraw, providing the American Indian Movement warriors also withdrew. AIM agreed, with the proviso that the QPP leave first. By 9 a.m., the QPP had left — and at noon, the AIM group was given a triumphant escort around the reserve and out of the area.

There was one problem left unresolved: what to do with the twelve outstanding warrants which had been issued to men accused of "rioting" against the police. Not surprisingly, of the many hundreds of persons involved in the destruction of the police cars, all twelve of those arrested were Longhouse members. Negotiators finally agreed that the twelve accused would present themselves to a lone police official who would fingerprint and photograph them and that they would immediately be released.

With this final ludicrous ceremony, the current chapter of the struggle of the Iroquois to retain some part of North America for their nations moved into the courts, hardly a place to resolve the difference between two peoples.

#### Horseshoes Are For Good Luck?

During the days of confrontation, on October 14, action took place off the reserve too in a Chateaugay Centre nightclub. Five Mohawks were refused admittance to the club, a not-uncommon occurrence in the predominately-French community. This time, however, the five returned to the reservation for reinforcements, and about fifteen men returned to the Horse Shoe Pub and virtually destroyed it. A vending machine was smashed, chairs and tables were broken, and the walls and bar were damaged by axe blows. By the time police arrived from four neighboring municipalities, the action was over.

#### Complaints of Intimidation Signed Under Pressure

By November, the charges of threat and intimidation were starting to crumble. Mrs. James Delormier appeared in court to ask Sessions Judge Yves Mayrand to withdraw the charges against Julian Delaronde. She said Mayor Ron Kirby had begged her and her husband to lodge the complaint.

"We were pressured to put in the complaint from the very beginning," Ms. Delormier said. "Kirby hasn't been very helpful to us since," she added angrily.

The Delormiers had rented several dwellings to white families until last September.

As for the other 21 arrested persons, Gaetan Robert petitioned December 11 to the Court of Queen's Bench to have charges dismissed for lack of jurisdiction. He said none of the courts now involved have authority to hear the cases because all accused are members of the Mohawk Nation, which preceded Canada, Great Britain and France in the Montreal area, and which has never agreed to come under the jurisdiction of any of those nations.

But if there was any doubt in the minds of Indian Affairs officials, they had the questioned settled for them. On November 13, 1973, the Governor-General of Canada proclaimed that Caughnawaga "was an Indian reserve within the meaning of the Indian Act."

The Age of Discovery lives on.

#### The Last of the Indignities

Band council, even before Kirby's time, had allowed a pet cemetery to be set up, a business which had catered to white Montrealers who wished to bury their dogs and cats.

But when Florence Lefebvre Browne died November 23 in Georgia in a traffic accident, Ron Kirby refused permission for her to be buried in the Caughnawaga cemetery where her father, grandparents, and great-grandparents are buried. He said she was ineligible because she had married a white man.

Under Canadian law, a woman who marries a non-Indian loses her "Indian" status, while a woman who marries an Indian man becomes an "Indian". Thus, although Florence Browne was refused burial, a 45-year-old woman born in Yugoslavia who married a Mohawk man was buried in the cemetery, which is operated by the Roman Catholic Church.

Kirby was backed in his opinion by the council's lawyer James O'Reilly, who said that the minister of Indian Affairs "can authorize the use of certain land on the reserve as Indian burial ground. That presupposes that it is Indians who are buried there, and that persons without Indian status cannot be buried there."

That may be the way Canadians do it — but it was one good example of why the Longhouse People at Caughnawaga are creating changes. They feel that their laws are not only legally justified, but that they are made with human beings in mind.

The Iroquois Confederacy is one of the oldest governments in North America. Not that many years ago, it was the strongest force on the continent, but its flame dimmed as it became weakened in fighting against the many competitors of Great Britain, an alliance that made Canada and the United States English-speaking nations.



But the flame has never completely flickered out, and it seems to be going stronger now than ever before in living memory. To the government of Canada, the Iroquois Confederacy is a romantic anachronism, something out of the past, a strange thing for a people still governed by the Queen of England to think.

To a growing number of native people, it is the traditional governments which offer the best — perhaps only hope — to resist assimilation, to continue on in the ways of the Creation as human beings are intended to do. And at Caughnawaga, it is the traditional government which represents the main stumbling block to those who want to develop the valuable 18-square-mile terrain just across the river from Montreal.

For people accustomed to finding their religious leaders in one house and their political leaders in another, the fact that the Mohawk Nation is a religious

institution as well as a political institution is disconcerting. At Caughnawaga, for instance, there are those who are Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Jehovah's Witness, United Church of Canada and Baha'i which only weakens and divides the community. Those following the traditional ways say that individuals should be free to form their own relationship with their Creator — that theirs is a way of life, rather than a religious belief, and that a government without spirituality is dead.

Canada, of course, refuses to recognize the Iroquois sovereignty. "By definition, the sovereignty of Canada precludes the sovereignty of the Iroquois Confederacy," Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien has said. "I am sure you will agree that it is impossible to have a nation within a nation. Our nation is Canada, and the Indian people of Canada are Canadians." He charged also that some members of the confederacy "take advantage of many of the provisions of the Indian Act, and many of the programs and services extended by the [government] — by these actions they contradict their presumption to sovereignty."

The Mohawk Council, however, a part of the Iroquois Confederacy, does not recognize the right of the Canadian Government to pass laws for native people, and is not interested in having its activities ratified by Jean Chretien. Its Warrior Society, composed of all able men and dedicated to defending the Mohawk People against outside foes, posted signs on the reserve asking white "trespassers" to leave the reserve by September 18, saying that if they ignored the request, the society would take physical action, which, they explained, would be similar to that taken by a bailiff in a city.

The Warriors' Society operates under the sanction of the leaders of the Mohawk Nation Council at Kanawake which in turn is selected by the Mohawk women.



(Thanks to information from Sterling Taylor, Robert Taylor, Vincent Riding, Hubert Gendron, of the Montreal Star; Henry Aubin and Gerry Sparrow of the Montreal Gazette; Mark Harding, Canadian Press, for information used here.)

## STOLEN DOCUMENTS: CHAPTER II

(In August, a group of native youth occupied the Indian Affairs Headquarters in Ottawa. When the occupation was over, highly confidential, top-secret files were missing. Eventually, copies were mailed to the press. The last issue of NOTES carried a two-page analysis of the documents, and this is still another chapter.)

#### How To Settle Land Claims — Quietly

The Canadian Government's cabinet was asked in the confidential paper to consider a set of guiding principles for negotiating the land claims. There were ten statements:

1. Federal jurisdiction and responsibility should be continued because anything else would arouse emotion and fear and apprehension among Indians.
2. Any settlement must be compatible with the country's existing political institutions because the fundamental nature of Canadian federalism must not be disturbed by it. That would leave out any claims of sovereignty.
3. Agreements must be comprehensive, must effectively settle specific native claims to special rights, titles, and privileges in the eyes of the law, in the eyes of the native people and of the public generally, now and in the future. That is, it must be an all-or-nothing thing.
4. Settlements must fit into a structure of rights which takes into account Canadian society as a whole. There must be no valid grounds for future misunderstandings. "Native title . . . cannot be allowed to prevent the utilization of resources which belong to all the people of the provinces and Canada generally." What's ours is ours, and what's yours is ours too.
5. Any settlement must provide grounds for a "realistic expectation" that native peoples can become economically self-sufficient. Also, recognition that native people have legitimate grievances is an important element of settlement.
6. The process of arriving at a settlement must meet the psychological needs of Indian and Inuit people and must be geared to their cultures. Bargaining is an important activity, especially in the Indian cultures, and "the processes can provide a sense of achievement; these should not be underestimated as sources of revitalized pride." (Native people might assume the same to be true of European-Americans.)
7. Settlements in one area should be such that they can be applied in other areas because of the need for consistency of approach. Lawful obligations in treaty areas must continue to be met, but if non-treaty people get better settlements, treaty people could ask for more.
8. Settlements must be related to other demands for public funds, and therefore should be paid off on the installment plan. Furthermore, the provinces should be involved since they too have obligations.
9. There is a need for proper management of the proceeds of a settlement to ensure that the money is used for the benefit of the people involved. Development corporations or trusts are suggested as possible vehicles.

10. No settlement will include payment of interest. "Although there may be pressure to pay interest, the Crown is not obliged to pay it and in the U.S. no interest was paid on similar claims."

Even with these limitations, the bill could run as high as \$3-billion plus millions of acres of land. Deprived even of these legitimate assets, it is easy to see why native people have often lived in material poverty.

The memo states that under a negotiated settlement, all obligations arising out of original occupancy of Canadian lands by native peoples would be expected to be discharged. There would be no Indian Act, because there would be no Indians, just "Canadians of Indian heritage."

Once the negotiations have started, the paper warns, the Government must be prepared to follow through. "Any apparent failure or undue delay in negotiating native grievances might easily be exploited by militant elements with potentially far-reaching emotional effect."



## CHRETIEN GIVES CHRISTMAS PRESENT BUT NATIVES STILL WAIT FOR SANTA

Sydney, Nova Scotia — The Union of Nova Scotia Indians announced November 18 that members of the Nyanza Reserve have been successful in negotiating the return of 1,476 acres which were cut off the reserve over a hundred years ago. Indian Affairs officials have agreed to the return, and negotiations are continuing on another 3,000 acres of the same tract, but which have had titles issued to non-Indians.

There are about 57 other claims in Nova Scotia alone which the UNSI hopes to announce soon. Four of these may be rather startling, it says, including land in industrial Cape Breton, downtown Sydney, and land occupied by the Canadian Armed Forces as a radar site.

(Thanks to the Cape Breton Highlander)



# HAVASUPAI PEOPLE BRING THEIR FIGHT TO WASHINGTON

*"The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River is becoming so renowned for its wonderful and extensive natural gorge scenery and for its open clean pine woods that it should be preserved for the everlasting pleasure and instruction of our intelligent citizens as well as those of foreign countries. Henceforth, I deem it just and necessary to keep the wild and unappreciable Indian from off the Reserve . . ."*

— A U.S. Forester in 1898



Washington, D.C. — The tiny Havasupai People of Arizona has taken on one of the most powerful lobby groups in the nation of the United States, the environmentalists, in an attempt to have 169,000 acres of its their land now held by the U.S. Park and Forest Services returned to them.

"All these so-called environmentalists coming up here and begging you to keep this land away from us to protect the plants and wild animals which they just found out about last year — these people can't even know what they are talking about," a Havasupai witness told the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation in hearings November 12 on a bill to enlarge Grand Canyon National Park (H.R. 5900).

The Havasupai charge that human beings, natural people, are a part of the environment too.

When the Havasupais arrived in the House hearing room, they found the entire front row taken up by — Sierra Club members. Then chairman Roy A. Taylor of North Carolina announced time would be very limited, as hearings on the "energy crisis" would be taking place in the afternoon. Each witness, he said would be limited to four (4) minutes. The delegation had travelled all the way across the country for those scant 240 seconds. As it turned out, however, the Havasupai were first witnesses after the government positions were stated, and by the time questions were over, there was no time left for the Sierra Club.

The Havasupais have been to Washington before — at least eight times in the last 65 years. In fact, in 1931, the great Havasupai leader, Manakaja, pleaded before Congress for return of the permit lands, and now, 42 years later, Manakaja's grandson, Lee Marshall, was making the same plea before the same body.

**"The National Park Service has to learn to be like Indians about land before they understand the secret of saving the earth. . . We'll be glad to teach them."**

The environmentalists are, the Havasupais say, city people "thinking only about taking these lands away from our people so [they] can come up once or twice a year and have some recreation on them. The rest of the time, nobody should use them. Recreation! We are talking about survival while they talk about recreation. Where does the greed of these people stop?"

The tribal witnesses sketched for the subcommittee "a little history lesson" of the loss of title to the land on the Grand Canyon plateau area which left them with only a three-mile-by-one-mile strip of reservation at the bottom of the Canyon, and their many efforts to get the land back.

"When our reservation was set up in 1882, the President [Chester Arthur] took away all our plateau lands where we lived for a thousand years. He didn't even know we used them. We must have plateau lands to support ourselves — our canyon only gives us some fruit and vegetables in the summer. We need pasturage and an area where we can gather seeds in winter. We also used to hunt meat in winter. Well, we can't hunt meat up there anymore, so we have to be able to raise it."

## CANYON LEADER GIVES CONGRESSMEN SOME PLAIN LANGUAGE — "WE ARE MAD!"

(On November 12, Lee Marshall, former Havasupai Tribal Chairman, appeared before a House committee considering a bill which would enlarge Grand Canyon National Park — and/or which would return Havasupai land to his people. He was given four minutes to speak. This is the way he used his four minutes.)

All my life, I've seen studies made about our land. You see how much land they've brought us? Now the Senate says, "Let's make another study." What for? People have done studies again and again. You can read about them.

We are going to talk straight out.

We are mad.

We see we are going to have to fight for our lives.

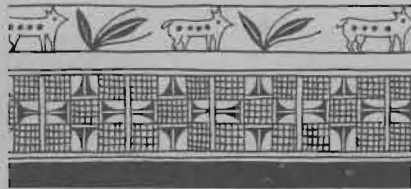
Maybe you think we're going to go away or stop trying. Well, we're just getting started.

Now after three generations of our people — and some of yours too — have kept beating on Washington's door about this, what do we hear today? All these so-called environmentalists telling you to keep this land away from us to protect the plants and wild animals, which they just found out about.

. . . These people can't even know what they are talking about. They haven't even seen most of the lands they want to steal from our people. Before, these people wanted to keep the land away from us for cattle; now they want to keep it away from us for bighorn sheep. Let me tell you something about bighorn sheep. The Park tries to tell you they live on the plateau. Don't believe it. They live on the cliffs, and the red rock below the rim, and that's where they have their lambs. We know — we have two big herds living right above our village where we can see

them any day. See if you can find any bighorn sheep near the Park Headquarters.

The Park says they want to save the environment and archaeological places. They're not talking right. We have homes and burial grounds on our permit lands. We fear for them if we are not there to protect them.



If the Park Service chases us off, they will destroy everything that was ours and wipe out all traces of our people. If you think we lie, ask the Park Service what they did to our old homes in 1934. Ask them what they did to Big Jim's place in 1953. Ask them what they did to our burial ground below Havasu Falls. That's how they protect things.

We have no faith in the Park Service ability to protect the environment, either. The Park has already hired the people who designed Disneyland to plan mass tourist development at the South Rim. We don't like that, and yet all these so-called environmentalists go around telling everybody it's us who's going to make a development. I think they've made some kind of deal with the Park Service to fool the people.

For years, we've been trying to get the Park to put some money or work into keeping up their parts of the public trails to our village for the public's safety. But the Park always tells us they won't help — if they answer at all — so we always end up keeping up their trails for them.

The Forestry Department and later the National Forest Service put pressure on the Havasupai from 1893 to 1908, but did not succeed in driving them off. In 1908, when the U.S. set up the Coconino National Forest, it began giving "grazing permits" as a bureaucratic accommodation.

"By 1917, people started talking about making this park, and we went through all that we are now going through with [former] Senator Henry Ashurst and [former] Rep. Carl Hayden," the witnesses said. "Hayden's first draft of the Grand Canyon bill did not even say a word about us, and his park would have just taken us in. [Finally] Hayden rewrote section 3 [of his bill] the way it is today to recognize our rights in the area."

The right of the Havasupais to their land is unquestioned: by 1969, the Indian Claims Commission acknowledged that the Havasupai had lost out on 2,257,728 acres of their land — and offered them \$1,240,000 in compensation. But the Havasupai people say that they want more land, not money.

The tribal witnesses also mounted a scathing attack on the ability of the Park Service to protect the environment and to save archaeological sites. They cited the

Forrest Gerard, staff aide to the committee, said they were caught up with other things at the time the bill was going through, and when Goldwater's position weakened, and the tribal attorney's stand didn't much impress them, "we just let it go."

Marvin L. Franklin, assistant to the Interior Secretary for Indian affairs, said "the battle for a favorable report on the Havasupai land return from the Interior Department was lost in the Office of Management and Budget [in the White House]."

Although the legislation said the study shall be completed "within one year" and that it "shall be conducted in close consultation with the Tribal Council of the Havasupai Tribe," to date neither the Interior Department nor the Agriculture Department have contacted the Havasupai people.

The Havasupais held a special tribal council meeting with the Sierra Club December 2 in Flagstaff. The Sierra Club urges a continuation of the present jurisdiction over the Havasupai lands, as they view this to represent "public ownership" of the area.

The Havasupai delegates, perhaps more familiar with the workings of American democracy through their experience with it than people who have learned about it in tenth-grade civics classes, said that "public ownership" does not place the power of decision in the hands of the "people", but means control by bureaucracy under the heavy influence of whatever federal administration happens to be in office. "It is often misguided, arbitrary, and venal," they said.

Reservation land is still subject to federal control, they reminded the club. In fact, BIA must subject any leasing of Indian land to public review, whereas the current United States Forest Service leases do not always receive public scrutiny.

The Havasupais also do not hold the same values as "all the people" of the United States, pointing out that this is a "nice-sounding theory" lying at farthest remove from local popular control. "All the people" does not only mean the Sierra Club, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Audubon Society, the Havasupai said. "It also means the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the American Independence Party, the National Rifle Assn., the McCulloch Oil Company, the Peabody Coal Company, International Business Machines, and the Ku Klux Klan."

The main plea to the environmentalists was to ask the Sierra Club to stand with the native people to help right an old wrong, and heal an ancient hurt.

In the meantime, the Havasupai have left, of their own, a reservation of exactly 518.6 acres at the bottom of the Grand Canyon.



# JAMES BAY PROJECT: Manifest Destiny In The North



(Unquestionably, the James Bay project is one of the greatest projects in the history of engineering. Five big rivers are to be dammed, their flow to be diverted into two of them. The watershed area to be affected amounts to a quarter of the total area of the Quebec Province. Present estimates of the cost are between \$5-billion and \$6-billion, but it could rise to \$10-billion.

(However, the project is to go on land occupied by the Cree and Inuit People, land never sold or treated, and until now, somehow on the other side of the frontier. The Quebec Government has made no pretense even of negotiating for the land — it just moved in, a northerly Manifest Destiny.

(American peoples should be concerned. Much of the power is supposed to go to the U.S. And Canadians should be concerned, too — the funds may create a huge economic imbalance, and the project may cause environmental disasters. When Quebec's premier Robert Bourassa announced the project on April 30, 1971, virtually no study had been made of any possible environmental effects. Bourassa was looking for a way to make good on an election promise to create 100,000 new jobs. The James Bay project would do that, he claims, although his figures are widely challenged.

(This report is part of a continuing series on James Bay in NOTES. It is presented with the hope that an informed people will not be content to see the project continue, and that they will be driven to take responsible action on behalf

**Montreal, Quebec** — Native people were elated in November when a Quebec court granted an injunction halting the controversial James Bay Development project, but their joy was shortlived as an appeals court just as quickly lifted the ban on further construction. After six months of hearings and five months of study, Superior Court Justice Albert Malouf had ordered a temporary halt of work on the power project on the grounds of native claims to the land.

There were hopes that the Supreme Court of Canada would come to the rescue of the native people. It did have a two-day hearing to determine if it should get



Overlooking the LaGrande River, Premier Robert Bourassa and his development corporation executives smile with glee as "progress" comes to the James Bay area. Natives will get tourists, traffic, and trouble.

claimed that Justice Malouf "erred in concluding that the province of Quebec did not treat the Indians in the territory as the government of Canada did . . ."

Justice Malouf had cited the Quebec Boundaries Extension Act of 1912 in which the federal government turned over to the province the land now in the development area. The act said the province "must recognize the rights of the Indian inhabitants in the territory . . . and obtain surrenders of such rights in the same manner as the government of Canada has."

Within hours of the Appeal Court decision, the 3,000 workers were back on the job, blasting and dozing ahead. Premier Bourassa said he was "happy" because now there was no uncertainty about whether they could work. He also said he hoped for a "negotiated settlement" as quickly as possible.

However, the native coalition said lifting of the stop-work order had harmed chances for a negotiated settlement. Certain technical changes for environmental protection would not be possible after another month or two of work, for instance.

In the House of Commons, Conservative Indian Affairs critic Flora MacDonald said the Canadian Government is "letting native people down badly" by staying out of the case.

## The White Backlash to Native Rights

During those few days while Judge Malouf's injunction was valid, the initial reaction among business and political spokesmen in Quebec, Montreal, and English Canadian centres identified the native rights stand as an additional aggravation of the "energy crisis" and a cause of

Interestingly enough, while the decision to grant the injunction was widely reported in newspapers throughout the United States and Canada, there was little or no comment about the Appeals Court action to cancel out that favorable decision.

## Ciaccia to the Rescue: The Screw Turns

During the initial stages of the James Bay Development, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Canadian Government decided not to intervene on behalf of the native people. One of the architects of that decision was John Ciaccia, then deputy minister for Indian Affairs.

Subsequently, the native groups were forced to take the case to court on their own — and subsequently, John Ciaccia resigned to be a candidate in a provincial election.

Now, however, Ciaccia was named by Bourassa as the chief government negotiator for Quebec — the opponent of the native people in the James Bay case. Thus Ciaccia has the honor of negotiating a controversy which he was instrumental in setting up.

"Negotiations begun earlier with the Indians and the Inuit from James Bay and the north are continuing in an accelerated fashion," Bourassa said blithely.

Ciaccia's former boss, Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien, also was expressing optimism. He said he knew exactly what the Indians want as a settlement.

While Chretien had been unwilling to expedite matters for the native people, he was showing concern for the French workers. "I talked with Mr. Bourassa several times over the weekend and also met with Indian representatives and both agreed to fast negotiations to protect the rights of the workers," Chretien told the press. He said he expected a new round of negotiations would involve a three-way meeting between the native people, the provincial government, and himself.

Although no details of a possible settlement have been announced officially, it is believed the Indians of Quebec Association may encourage the Crees to accept cash settlements, long-term aid, hunting rights, a say in school administration, and certain minor modifications in the hydroelectric project.

Before entering politics, Ciaccia was a real estate lawyer in Montreal of some wealth. Papers released during the occupation of the Indian Affairs offices in Ottawa last August indicated that one of his more established clients then had been the Department of Indian Affairs for whom he drafted legal opinions on the status of Indian bands and their land.

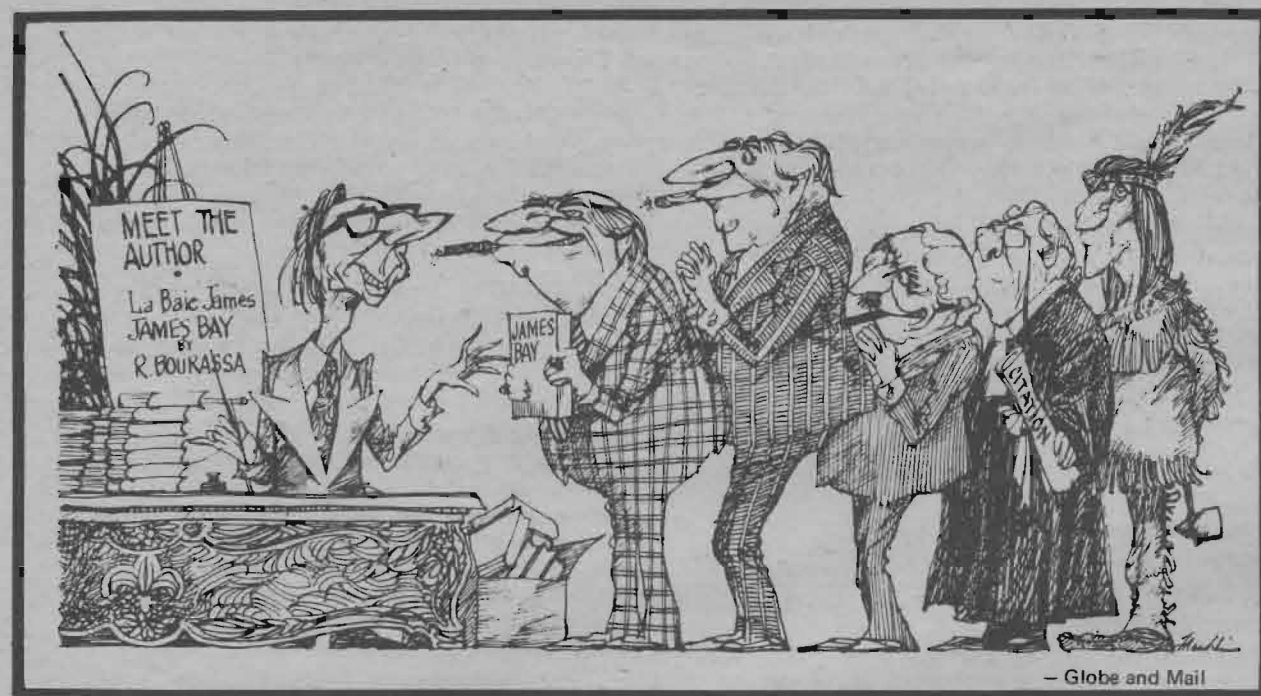
## Damn Ecology and Full Speed Ahead

The Quebec Government apparently doesn't rely much on studies of the ecological effects of its projects. Consider these items listed by Boyce Richardson, a Montreal journalist, film-maker, and author:

**On huge man-made lakes:** The international experience with huge man-made lakes has led scientists to conclude almost unanimously that the problems are not technical, but biological. Ecologists say they need three to five years to study whether or not to interfere with a natural system. But the James Bay project was decided before a single biological study was done, and all studies since have merely attempted to justify the project rather than to determine its feasibility.

**Single-purpose development:** The project is designed for one purpose only: to produce electricity. This means the water levels will fluctuate from month to month and year to year, making it impossible for plant and animal life to adjust. The Quebec Government and the JBDC have firmly refused to even discuss possible modifications of the scheme to take account of other needs besides those of producing electricity.

**Overturning the cycles:** The area is attuned to a cycle of enormous spring floods, and then moderate flows. This will be flattened off to provide for more consistent supply, possibly causing tremendous effects in the



— Globe and Mail

involved, but decided against that. Thus the lifting of the injunction was allowed to stand.

The status quo had returned to Canada's native justice.

The native response to the Malouf decision indicated the good will which justice can bring to native/white relationships. "For me, and for all the people I speak for, this restores our faith in Canada and its institutions. Now we have seen that the law is not blind to Indians. It changes the whole outlook of Indian people toward the government and toward the law." So spoke George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood.

"The Cree Indians and Inuit people have been hunting and trapping and fishing therein since time immemorial," Judge Malouf wrote in his decision. "They have a unique concept of land . . . and any interference therein compromises their very existence as a people."

Lawyers for the James Bay Development Corporation and other construction and finance companies affected

unemployment among Quebec workers. News stories cited "the recent court decision in favor of the Indians" among the complications in the energy situation, and other stories on employment began by saying, "Three thousand Quebec workers are about to be laid off by the James Bay Development Corporation as a result of the decision of Mr. Justice Malouf . . ."

Perhaps it was the same sort of thinking that caused the Quebec Appeal Court to lift the injunction. Those judges stated disagreement with only one portion of Mr. Justice Malouf's 350-page decision. The interests of the majority of the people of Quebec, they said, could not be blocked by the will of a small minority.

The National Indian Brotherhood issued a statement from their Ottawa offices calling on the federal government to intervene immediately on behalf of the native people at James Bay to protect their interests. Now that Quebec was free to proceed with the project, there was little negotiating power left for them to exercise.



James Bay ice melting and causing the entire area to cool off. (Bourassa's comment: the people will have to put on sweaters.) There will be enormous areas of dead trees, perhaps covering an area from Montreal to Windsor, or from Buffalo to Chicago — at many times of the year, there will be great areas of mud flats.

**The Conspiracy of Silence:** In view of these uncertainties, the silence of the Canadian Government, including the environment ministry, is regarded by many of the most concerned scientists working in the civil service as a disgrace, and is causing them a moral dilemma.

**The Native People: the first and last defense?** Not until the native people were forced to go to court did the James Bay scheme come under intensive public analysis — and then, of course, it happened in the wrong forum for the environmental quality of the work done in James Bay appears not to be an issue before the judge. The entire Canadian political structure has proven inadequate to deal with a government that doesn't seem to care what happens to the environment.

The James Bay Development Corporation has an advertising man, Jacques Gauthier, whose job is to keep the wolves at bay so the project can continue. He never seems to address himself to the problems, but concentrates on the economic advantages of the scheme. Like others in his field, he has huge cheek — "not one Indian will be displaced," he claims. However, this is not surprising, for the JBDC's lawyers even have said that the native people have no rights in the lands they have always occupied, and that they have no rights to have their culture protected.

The one negative environmental recommendation that has been made is that the Caniapiscu River should not be dammed. The Quebec Government said that it had accepted that conclusion. But now, the developers have announced, there will be a huge dam on the Caniapiscu.

"What happened to all federal and provincial defenders of the environment who had recommended against the dam?" Richardson asks. "Where were their protests? What action did they take to enforce the recommendations of their report? Nothing has happened. Because in James Bay, Robert Bourassa has shown that he can get away with anything, and that all the government talk about the environment is strictly lip-service designed to hoodwink the public."

#### Environmentalists: Just Attacking the System?

The president of the James Bay Energy Corporation told the Engineering Institute of Canada's annual meeting in Montreal October 3 that the attitude of some environmental groups were "alarmist and emotional." Robert Boyd, who is also a Hydro-Quebec commissioner, added that these influential groups believe "established institutions should be destroyed." "These pseudo-ecologists have attracted protesters of all kinds who are constantly on the lookout for reasons to attack the system," Boyd charged. He said industry and government should "be practical" about protection of the environment, and should "be aware of groups using the situation and the emotions it creates to jeopardize our economic way of life and to promote zero-growth propaganda."

Already, too, 169 square miles of virgin forest have gone up in flames in a single week as a result of the first season of construction work.

But people impressed with "progress" would find the James Bay project just great. A permanent road 435 miles long is being built to Fort George to move the 500,000 tons of equipment, materials, and fuels from Matagami to dam sites on the La Grande River. The airport at Matagami is handling more than 200 aircraft a day — as many as Ottawa — and things are just starting to warm up.



Cree family at James Bay . . . waiting for the dam

Work on the LG-2 campsite, where one of the largest dams will be built if Bourassa has his way, will require a temporary town to accommodate 4,000 men, and a permanent town of 450 families to handle the operation of the complex upon completion.

The name of the town has already been decided: it will be Radisson, for the French-Canadian explorer. Other than Bourassaville, nothing else would be more appropriate.

James Bay native people have good reason to fear the roads which will bring hordes of "sportsmen" into their areas — they have had experience enough with the ones who come by plane.

Recently, six men from Maine and Vermont came to the Riviere la Grande for a fishing expedition, using two \$40,000 Cessna aircraft for the jaunt. Officers came upon their camp, and as a result, the men were charged under the Quebec Fishery Regulations with two offenses: they caught 76 fish each (that's 456 fish) which is 51 over the limit, and secondly, they allegedly left the fish to spoil at their camp site.

But clever arguments of legal technicalities let them off scot-free. A loophole in the regulations limits excess catches to fish "the sale of which is prohibited" and the fish in question were not on that list. And since the law said that no person who caught fish should allow them to spoil, and since the prosecutor had failed to mention that the accused had caught the fish involved, there was no offense proven. Judge Guy Guerin upheld the defense motions and quashed the charges.

The James Bay Corporation refers to the spectacularly turbulent rivers that are to be harnessed as "a vast potential now wasting in foam and swirls," in one of its publications.

Fred H. Ernst, the vice president of the corporation, poo-poos ecological critics.

"Everything you do — even every breath you take — has ecological consequences," he says. "So what you must do is measure the balances, measure the risks."

Bishop says to go ahead, even if natives object

Just as it happened in the past, the Christian missionaries are acting as front men for the colonists.

Bishop Jules Leguerrier of Moosonee says the James Bay Project will be "a good thing for the Indians of the area in the long run," even if they are disturbed by it now. He should know — he's been a missionary there for 29 years. He even advocated Indian rights: "I think the first jobs should be made available to them because it is their land."

The Bishop is optimistic about the future, and feels the church should not get involved in such things as environment.

Alluding to the founder of Montreal, Maisonneuve, the Bishop says, "He certainly didn't worry about the ecology when he founded the city on the island."



Bishop Leguerrier . . . Indians will benefit in the long run, he says

Other clergymen have been more liberal in their approach, reminiscent of the remark of George Bernard Shaw who said, "If the government passed a law calling for the castration of radicals, liberals would demand the right of appeal." Archbishop E.W. Scott of the Anglican Church appealed to Prime Minister Trudeau and to Premier Bourassa to use their powers to "slow up the project until the needs of the people in the area have been evaluated." And Rt. Rev. T. J. Matthews, Bishop of Quebec for the Anglican Church, told his synod in July that "we are committed to the belief that development must not be carried out at the expense of the native people."

Both churchmen said the church is not opposed to the project itself, but "to the haste and lack of planning with which it is proceeding."

In Ontario, meanwhile, nervous native people came upon provincial government maps showing tentative locations of 70 dams on five rivers flowing into James Bay and Hudson Bay. Harold Achneepineskum, a researcher for the Union of Ontario Indians, said in November that the furor over James Bay in Quebec may have curtailed the Ontario Government's plans to develop the rivers.

According to Dr. Keith Reynolds, deputy provincial secretary for resources, the studies began as a response to a scheme to divert water down to the southwestern United States, but the results are not yet complete.

"If it ever comes to a proposal to do something, then we would consult the Indians," he said.

Thanks a lot.

#### BOURASSA SUED FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT ON JAMES BAY PROPAGANDA BOOK



The government's environmental protection people apparently aren't going to be of much help. On Dec. 12, Environment Canada released its report saying that the area didn't necessarily have to be safeguarded from environmental damage, but there were certain rights for the Cree and Inuit people which must be respected.

What it means by "respected" is that work with "negative repercussion" on the area's human beings must be "counterbalanced by an action which at least suppresses the unfavorable effect." By that, it means that tourism and commercial development would compensate the loss of the life given the Crees by the Creation.

The report also suggested hunting and fishing territory be given to the native people in return for lands expropriated for the project — but this would be difficult since an area of 20% of the province is to be used for the flooding.

The Quebec Indian Association filed a request in Quebec Superior Court on October 6 that Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa be found in contempt of

court for publication of his book, *James Bay*. The petition says that the publication constitutes contempt because a judge of the Superior Court is pondering a decision on a request from the native peoples that the \$5.8-billion James Bay hydroelectric development be halted.

Bourassa's book received many reviews — mostly by astute political writers who noted its one-sidedness.

George Radwanski, writing for *The Montreal Gazette*, noted that while Bourassa says "not a single Indian village will be touched or displaced", he let this reassurance gloss over the fact that those villages will be doomed if the project undercuts the way of life of the people. Similarly, the book says that "permanent consultation goes on with the native peoples in order to respect the environment." It never once mentions that precisely because consultation was unsatisfactory that the native people had to take Bourassa to court in an attempt to get the project stopped, Radwanski points out.

Bourassa reserved his best pitch for an emotional account of a visit to the area on his birthday. He wrote:

"... the cooperation of the James Bay Indians is important. Those I met that July 14th want to participate in the development of the region."

According to *Gazette* reporter Paul Waters, who accompanied the premier on that July 14th visit, Bourassa met exactly two Indians.

James O'Reilly, lawyer for the Quebec Indian Association, argued that the premier doesn't mention there is an injunction request in the courts to stop the entire project. He also charges that many statements and figures in the book are presented as uncontested facts although they were challenged when presented before Justice Malouf during the injunction hearing.

He particularly complained that the premier had committed contempt of court when he wrote, at the end of the book: "The July 14, 1973, trip confirmed in my mind that the development of James Bay is no longer a dream but a concrete reality. Nothing can stop us from moving forward."

Jean Guy Boilard, the attorney representing Bourassa, said that the premier's comment did not imply contempt of the court. He said that in interpreting the passage, one must "naturally presume that the premier is a law-abiding man."

The Cree are having difficulty in presuming that, for the premier seems to have shown no concern for the law in pressing forward the destruction of the Cree Nation's land.



"Our Ideas Will Overcome  
Your Ideas. We Are Going To  
Cut The Country's Whole  
Value System To Shreds.  
It Isn't Important That Our  
Numbers Are Few.....What  
Is Important Is That We Have  
A Superior Way Of Life.  
We Indians Have A More  
Human Philosophy Of Life.  
We Indians Will Show This  
Country How To Act Human."

Vine Deloria Jr.







We are grateful to Roger Malloch for this photograph, which first appeared in *Modern Photography Annual* for 1971. This is one of a series of posters which are available on heavy poster paper. They are available for 3 for \$1, or 50 cents each, postpaid (plus 25 cents for mailing tube, if desired) all of one kind or a variety. Write: AKWESASNE NOTES, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.



# The Aché Indians: Genocide In Paraguay



On June 4, 1973, the University of Bern released an open letter to the Paraguayan Government. It charged that carefully-organized massacres of Aché Indians (otherwise known as Guayakí, of Tupí linguistic stock), added to the detention of Aché Indians in "reservations" indistinguishable from Nazi concentration camps and calculated to insure physical and psychological collapse, had taken on genocidal proportions and had been carried on with the apparent approval and indeed connivance of Paraguayan governmental agencies.

Aché are being systematically hunted by armed raiding parties. Men, women and children are being indiscriminately mowed down in such "hunts". The preferred weapon of the massacre is the machete, which saves the expense of bullets.

An exception may be made for Achés who submit to being tamed and trained as killers of their own kindred. Their reward is a diet capable of insuring survival and the assignment of captured Aché women as their "wives." Both the Aché killers and their "wives" may be guaranteed survival during good behavior. Those willing to accept unadulterated slavery may also be kept alive for indefinite periods as work hands at a bare subsistence level and without medical attention. The use of their language is discouraged; their traditional music prohibited. The attendant death rate from diseases of malnutrition and sheer lack of will to survive is decimating them.

This inevitable attrition is accelerated by such acts as that reported by a team of anthropologists — that "about one-half . . . [of a] recently captured band [of Achés on a reservation] was liquidated, partly by the conscious withholding of food and medicine."

The rites of their religion are denied the Achés even in death. What is felt by the survivors is pervasive melancholy and a sense of degradation, rarely capable of verbalization, yet occasionally captured in a "weeping song" taped by an anthropologist, in which the singer laments the end of the Aché Nation and "regards himself as no longer an Aché and not even a human being . . . [and] as half dead."



Aché father and son after "capture"

Yet another group permitted to survive may be children — mostly girls ranging from ten years upward. They are being sold as slaves, principally for sexual purposes. And as if in a nightmare world, we read of yet another "weeping song", recorded on tape by an anthropologist in March, 1972, in which the 30-year-old Aché woman Kanechirigi complains that "she does not know what has happened to her daughters, who are living 'in the houses of mighty Paraguayans.'"

Not unreasonably, the open letter of the University of Bern demands the immediate cessation of these crimes

and the criminal prosecution of all those responsible, regardless of their station in life.

The Genocide Convention, which has been signed by Paraguay, and which must be viewed as a part of the customary Law of Nations, explicitly encompasses all of the activities described in the Bern indictment.

In addition to genocide, the convention renders "complicity in genocide" subject to punishment as an international crime and declares that persons committing genocide or accomplices therein "shall be punished whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, or private individuals."

This photograph was taken on the Aché Reservation 8 May, 1972. On the right, the "tame" Aché (Rafael Pereira) who took an active part in the capture of the woman on the left.



## Documentation of Liquidation

The accusations contained in the open letter by the University of Bern are based upon extensive first-hand observation. The pioneering study in this field has been presented by a German anthropologist, Dr. Mark Munzel. Titled "The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay," and published in 1973 by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in Copenhagen, it cites first-hand account upon first-hand account, identifying eyewitnesses located throughout the Americas and Western Europe in a manner satisfying to the most fastidious of legal technicians. Dr. Munzel himself has been an eyewitness to some of these episodes.

Photographs included in his report show the bloated bodies of the dying on the reservations. His attempts at persuading the killers, whom he met as they set out on an Indian hunt, to abandon their pursuits, have been fruitless. His denunciation of the practices led to a strongly-worded suggestion by the German diplomatic mission that he return to his German home base at the University of Frankfurt.

Col. Patrick Montgomery, the British Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, presented substantially identical allegations before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva on March 29, 1973, based upon independent and further first hand evidence. His report was uncontradicted.

The Roman Catholic Church in Paraguay has acknowledged the existence of these practices and has denounced them. So has the World Council of Churches. The British and German press have at various times featured accounts of the liquidation of these hapless people.

## Surrender, or be Exterminated

The Aché live in the southeastern corner of Paraguay between the Rios Paraguay and the Alto Paraná. They never surrendered to the white man, and have always attempted to defend their territory against incursions, withdrawing deeper into the forest when they could not resist.

Although they have been the subject of extensive manhunts since colonial days, the situation for the Achés became worse in 1968 when a road was completed across their territory. More land is reserved for cattle, and game has been frightened away. The Aché are forced into stealing cattle and implements to compensate for the reduced area of land, and reprisals from settlers follow.

A report of one raid: "This raid was organized toward the end of August, 1971 . . . some specialists in killing Achés were contracted for the purpose and were paid with money from the funds of the estancia . . . It was carried out with machete knives. There were between 12 and 20 killed, some of them most probably the mothers of kidnapped children. At least five small children were captured alive." One, a girl 6 years old was sold. A boy of four was sold or given away but

died a few weeks after his capture. A boy of eight was kept by his kidnapper but died of smallpox in November, 1971.

Sometimes killing is indirect, and European disease does the job:

In March and April, 1972, about 171 "wild" Achés were captured "and deported to the Aché reservation, whose population thus rose to about 277. Only 202 were left at the end of July. The dead seem to belong mostly to the new arrivals. The liquidation is due to the lack of food and medical attention. The Paraguayan Episcopal Conference explains the high death figure by

the fact that the new captives were brought to the Reservation when an influenza epidemic was already raging there [which is, indirectly] mass murder."

The road into Aché territory has much to do with the needs of American interests. Just a short distance away, Paraguay and Brazil have agreed to build one of the world's most massive hydro-electric power plants — shades of James Bay!

The whole situation is an ideological battle over life-style, and is not essentially racial in nature. Paraguay has always prided itself on having achieved harmonious relations between Europeans and indigenous people. It is the only republic in America where a pre-Colombian language, Guaraní, has survived and thrived, and where there is no racial stigma attached to people of non-European or mixed blood. Provided, that is, that they live in a manner which does not interfere with a fascist government.

According to Miguel Chase-Sardi, one of the most prominent Paraguayan experts on native peoples, in a survey of the Paraguayan indigenes published in 1972, there were only 411 Guayakies, or Aché left. The people are of light complexion, stocky build, and accustomed to the freedom of not using clothing.

Up until last year, the town of San Juan Nepomuceno was the centre of a slave trade — an Aché could be bought for \$10 or so, but now there are so many available the price has dropped to \$5. In Oct., 1971, a Chilean entomologist, Luis Pena, who was doing research for the Peabody Museum of Yale University, reported that he had been offered boys for sale at prices ranging from \$18.

Ten years ago, senior officers in the Paraguayan Army founded a reserve for the Guayakies, the Blessed Roque Gonzalez de Santa Cruz National Guayaki Settlement — with some aid funds from the Vatican. A group of 50 Guayaki were put in the charge of a former Army sergeant, Manuel Pereira, on a piece of land not far from San Juan Nepomuceno.

Manuel Pereira, tried to keep up the numbers in the settlement by getting his "tame" Guayakies to bring in their nomadic brethren from the bush. Manhunts were mounted. But the Guayakies hunted out of the bush did not adapt to the new home. Of 36 who arrived in December, 1970, 10 died within 10 months, according to Dr. Munzel, who, with his wife, lived among the Guayakies. It seemed that they died of influenza, against which they had no natural protection, and from the vegetarian diet, which compared unfavorably to the wild game, honey, and wild foods they had garnered from the forests.

In April this year, a zoologist and a botanist came across a group of nomadic Guayakies who had just been captured. These included 67 persons, including 11 babies. They were on their way to the settlement. Within a few weeks, at least 50 of them were dead.





Munzel, in the July, 1972, issue of *Acción*, a Roman Catholic magazine, reported that at the end of May he had seen 32 graves that had been dug that month. The settlement only consists of about 100 residents.

With the exception of two small tribes, Choroti and Moro, all Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco (about 30,000 people) have contact with some group of the national society, by which they are exploited. A large part of the Indians (Angaité, Sanapaná, Guana, Emok, Lengua, and Toba) are living on big cattle farms all over the Chaco.

Generally, on such farms there are 50 to 200 Indians, who are allowed the use of small plots of land. A few men have full-time jobs on the farm, for which they receive as payment one or two meals daily, and new clothes annually. Agriculture is difficult, and most food must be purchased.

In order to survive, many tribal groups have split up to search for better conditions. This means a gradual destruction of cultures and values.

Another example is the situation of Indians living in the colonies of the Mennonites in the Central Chaco. The Mennonites are a Protestant group which was nurtured by the Chaco-area Indians when they first arrived 40 years ago. But after the Chaco War in 1936, many Indians were dispossessed of their territories, and were forced to look for work in the Mennonite colonies. Now there are 9,000 Mennonites, and 6,200 Indians registered in 7 work camps, with about 3,000 unregistered Indians living in slums around Mennonite towns and villages as agricultural laborers.

In the work camps in Philadelphia, for the same work, Indians receive half the payment of Mennonites. For example, a professional mason who is Mennonite receives about 12,000 guaraní a month. A Gurani Indian mason of equal skill gets about 6,000 guaraní, which is equivalent to about \$40. A Chulobi Indian receives even less. The Indians do not have the right to possess or occupy any land in the colonies.

In the colony Fernheim, all Indians are paid with bonds which they can redeem only at the cooperative, in which only Mennonites can be members. The prices there are higher than in private stores.

The Indians charge that money sent from Canada and Germany to the Mennonites for agricultural implements for Indian converts was used to buy new implements for the Mennonites, and the old ones were given to the Indians. Not coincidentally, scientists investigating living conditions in Paraguay in 1965 found that the Mennonites were the best nourished people in the country — and Indians were the worst nourished.

## Limelight and Twilight for a People

The extermination of the Aché population of Paraguay has been progressing over a period of more than a decade to the point where the Achés are almost extinct and the Anti-Slavery Society of Great Britain voices the apprehension "that plans may already exist for the liquidation of other tribes before the limelight has a chance to prevent it."

Liquidation of the Achés has progressed apace with road building and "settlement" of "civilized" communities upon once virgin soil, in short — with commercial penetration which has been heavily financed from the United States.

The involvement of the Paraguayan Government has been direct and immediate. Its knowledge of these practices is incontrovertible. General Stroessner, the dictator of Paraguay, has himself been repeatedly informed, most recently, perhaps, by the International Commission of Jurists, which sought to "intervene" with him against these massacres.

*"We have not yet projected sales for it, but 2,750 miles is a big project."*

—Sidney D. John, a Caterpillar Brasil executive, on Brazilian government plans to build a Northern Perimeter Highway

**Brasília, Brazil** — With the first stretch of the Trans-Amazonic Highway opened from the Atlantic Coast to the town of Itaituba in Western Pará, and with construction well underway on the next link to Humaitá, in October, 1972, the Brazilian government announced plans for a new 2,500-mile highway along its northern borders. Called the "Northern Rim Road" in American trade journals, and labelled on Brazilian maps as the "Rodovia Perimetral Norte", the new highway will become the last major artery in a concrete labyrinth which will someday cover the entire Amazon region of Brazil.

What is not mentioned in the trade and planning literature, or merely mentioned as a quaint aside in plans for the integration of the Amazon region, is one disturbing element.

Namely, that the Amazon region, and especially that part planned for the Northern Highway, is the aboriginal homeland of hundreds of independent native nations, whose territory and land is supposedly protected by Brazilian constitutional law. This nasty fact, glossed over by the bureaucrats and businessmen, is the human

Clinching evidence concerning the explicit Paraguayan governmental collaboration in the extermination of the Aché Indians has been furnished by eyewitnesses. The typical hunt leading to the roundup and massacre of the native population was consistently observed to be accompanied either by the military vehicles of the Paraguayan armed forces or by trucks "put at the disposal of the Reservation by the Ministry of Public Works and Communication with a soldier as the driver."

## Genocide: A Paraguayan Tradition

Paraguay has been under the iron rule of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, dictator, since 1954. Its nominal govern-



*The food in the dish is expected to serve the entire group of Aché in their "protected home".*

mental structure has been, from time to time, cosmetized to provide a more tolerable appearance to the outside world. Hundreds of political prisoners are detained without trial under conditions of the utmost deprivation, degradation, and torture. The police installation for much of this activity is within easy walking and hearing distance of the U.S. Embassy.

General Stroessner has played host to numerous fugitives from post-World War II Nuremberg justice. A number of objective observers say that Nazi figures, such as a Herr Contric and Dr. Josef Mengele ("the doctor of Auschwitz") have been active in an advisory capacity in Paraguay.

## The American Involvement

U.S. aid has been flowing into Paraguay, the poorest country in South America, in massive volume significantly since 1954, the year of Alfredo Stroessner's accession to dictatorial power. American investment has been both private and governmental. The impoverishment of the Paraguayan masses, of course, remains unaffected. Members of the general staff thrive, sometimes as in Vietnam, on the proceeds of a heroin traffic directed to the United States.

It would not seem unfair to infer that the Paraguayan military vehicles accompanying Aché hunts are of

American manufacture. Widespread military facilities, airstrips and roads leading to them, pushed through inhabited as well as virgin territory once populated by Achés, have been made available to the United States.

Any assertion of the Nixon Administration that it lacks all knowledge and control of racial and political persecution — and specifically the genocide of the Aché People of Paraguay — would seem as credible under these circumstances as its recent protestations of innocence in Athens or Saigon.

The release of the University of Bern letter was noted by Swiss radio and television — it was greeted by total silence from the American press, radio, and television.

The London bureau of *The New York Times* was explicitly informed and was obviously sympathetic to giving the story the prominence it deserved. Yet no such story appeared.

How explain the silence of the American media — and people — while Achés die?



Letters of protest can be sent to the Paraguayan representative to the United Nations:

**Miguel Solando Lopez, Esq.  
211 East 43rd Street  
New York, N.Y. 10017**

*(Thanks to Richard Arens, a professor of law at Temple University, for his September 24, 1973, article in The Nation. The IWGIA book by Dr. Mark Muenzel, The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay, is available from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683, for \$1.00 postpaid.)*

# BRAZIL

factor which lies behind the Brazilian "miracle" as it penetrates the vast jungle areas of the Amazon interior.

Even with good intentions, civilization is deadly for the Amazon's People. In November, Rio de Janeiro's leading newspaper, *Jornal do Brasil*, reported measles is wiping out one entire tribal group. Four Txucarramae people have died from the disease, and 20 more are in danger of dying. 70 more are interned in a filthy government-run Indian hospital in the jungle town of Santa Isabel do Morrow.

The paper said the disease, unknown to them previously and therefore much more dangerous to them than to white men, was brought by white settlers along with the highway BR-80 which cut through the Xingu National Park, a reserve which was promised only a few years ago to be protected from progress.

While FUNAI isn't of much help to native peoples coming in contact with Brazilian society, it does offer to the hundreds of soldiers and contracted workers chop-

ping the new road a how-to booklet called *Contact With Indians — What You Should Do*. Basically, it offers suggestions on how not to get the natives riled, and suggests if the workers experience troubles, they should get in touch with their friendly local FUNAI agent.

Almost as deadly, in a different sort of way, will be the preventative program. The International Red Cross announced in December that it would join with the Brazilian Government — the same Government that is building the highways — to inoculate the native people against smallpox, measles, malaria, and tuberculosis. Red Cross organizations in Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, West Germany, Denmark and Canada have contributed the \$1-million needed for the program's first year.

Brazil had an estimated Indian population of over one million persons when the Portuguese "discovered" it in 1500.

With all these problems, it must have been with tongue-in-cheek that the FUNAI announced in December it had launched a massive educational project to prepare the native people for the appearance of the Comet Kahou-tek. The government said it feared that the "superstitious tribes" might be severely frightened by the comet and that "disturbances" might be caused.

*(Thanks to Associated Press, Indigina, Zodiac News Service)*



# The Washington Scene



## NIXON FINDS NEW B.I.A. COMMISSIONER

Washington, D.C. — Morris Thompson, nominated by U.S. President Richard Nixon for Commissioner of Indian Affairs, won easy confirmation in the Senate November 28 — but his troubles may only be starting.

As the youngest commissioner ever to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the 34-year-old Athabaskan resident of Alaska, who was confirmed by voice vote, will take over an agency beset with criticism from native activists and concerned American citizens, and beset too with conflict within its own internal organization.

Just a little over a year ago, in November, 1972, BIA headquarters were occupied by the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan, and in the wake of the operation, the building was almost completely destroyed. In the wake, too, Commissioner Louis R. Bruce resigned under fire from his boss, Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, who charged he had collaborated with the activists.

With his departure, says Charles Trimble, executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, "oldliners saw the opportunity to seize control of the Bureau and to completely reverse the policies of the Bruce administration." The position of commissioner has been vacant since Bruce left.

Thompson was chosen by Interior officials over Martin Seneca, a young lawyer who headed the American Indians for Nixon organization during the 1972 presidential campaign. Sources close to the BIA say the White House is almost certain to name White House aide Bradley Patterson as deputy commissioner of the BIA. Patterson, who is white, had wanted the top job, and is expected to play a major role in the agency's operations. It is said that the White House already has strong control over Interior Department through the appointment of its man, John Whitaker, as Morton's "assistant."

Morton was flowery in his praise for Thompson. He called him "a key step in assuring constructive progress in helping our Indian citizens move forward." Careful to point out that Thompson was "an Indian himself", Morton said he brought to the BIA "the professional qualifications and leadership which is needed to meet the urgent challenges facing the Indian people today." Referring apparently to the current BIA reorganization, Morton said, "We have begun to move and move in a very orderly way to upgrade our delivery system and our service to the Indian, and I think the time has been well-spent in our search for exactly the right man for this job."

Activists were quick to point out that what the native people needed was not service, but justice — and treaty recognition, freedom from exploitation, the right to determine their own independent destinies.

Thompson is a career man with the BIA. He attended BIA boarding schools, and then majored in Civil Engineering at the University of Alaska. From 1965-67 he worked as a technician at the RCA satellite tracking facility at Fairbanks, and then moved to the post of deputy director for the Rural Development agency of Alaska. In 1968-69 he was executive secretary of the North Commission. He came into Indian affairs in Washington as a special assistant of former secretary of Interior Walter J. Hickel. When Hickel left, Thompson moved to the area director's job in Juneau, where he has been for the last two years.

When the Thompson appointment was being considered by the Senate committee, there was much testimony by key senators and congressmen indicting the state of affairs and the current low level of morale in the BIA. Sitting in the room and listening without a visible reaction was Harrison Loesch, former assistant Interior Secretary who was immediate overseer of the BIA and who was fired with Bruce last year. He was

well looked after by the Administration, however, and he is now minority counsel to the Senate Interior Committee.

### A Pat on the Back for a "Solid Record"

Thompson was quick to pat the back of the Administration which appointed him. At the National Tribal Chairmen's Association meeting in Phoenix, Arizona, December 6, he pointed to the Nixon Administration's "solid record of achievement" in gaining restorations of land to tribal groups. He cited return of 48,000 acres of land to the Taos Pueblo, 21,000 acres back to the Yakimas, and 40,000,000 acres of land that will go to Alaska Natives in the State of Alaska under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. (The fact that Alaskan Natives lost eleven times that much land in the transaction was not mentioned.)

Thompson said that one of his jobs would be to push hard for the passage of seven pieces of Indian legislation still before Congress "as a Bicentennial present to our Nation's first Americans."

He also spelled out what the Nixon Administration means by self-determination: Indians will have a chance to operate the bureaucracy. "In a nutshell, here is the Federal Government's policy today: it offers self-determination and self-government to Indian people as rapidly as Indians want it and can assume responsibility for it. In other words, tribes have the option of assuming control of their own Federal programs whenever they wish to do so."

That is not exactly what the people at Wounded Knee and from the Trail of Broken Treaties had in mind.

Thompson offered to meet with "any Indian who has reasonable objectives". He made the offer in reply to a question as to whether he would listen to AIM leaders as well as the establishment-oriented people predominant in the NTCA.

As for Wounded Knee and the BIA takeover, Thompson said it was too early to tell whether actions such as these are "productive or counterproductive." He conceded AIM had called attention to "the plight of the Indians," but he declined to say whether he thought AIM is helping or hindering Indians. He did say he would be relying primarily on the advice of the established tribal council people.

In a wide-ranging conference, Thompson said native children deserve to be educated as close to home as possible, and that off-reservation boarding schools should be phased out eventually, but not immediately. He declined to take a position on whether Indians should take advantage of federal-land status to establish gambling casinos in states where gambling is illegal. He said he planned to name new men to seven of the eleven area directors posts, as well as new people in the Washington headquarters.

### The Mystique of the Commissioner

Previous Indian Commissioners, in the eyes of most people, were assumed to have godlike powers to do good or ill for native peoples. But incidents in recent years and an increasing frankness by incumbents in that position have eliminated much of the mystique. Still, there is a great fuss made by Interior about the appointment of a commissioner, and currently, it is always good brownie points to make sure the commissioner is an Indian.



Thompson concedes that there is a massive mistrust of government by native people, a mistrust that since Watergate the American people generally are feeling.

"Indian people must feel that the BIA is a service organization delivering services in a competent manner," Thompson says. "They must receive assurances from the Congress that termination is not a national policy. Indian people want to see long-standing issues resolved by government."

He will have more than his share of problems in delivering. The BIA is a small agency in the Department of the Interior and collides with many other more-powerful interests. Although Thompson's position is improved over his predecessors in that he will report directly to the Secretary of the Interior instead of through a middle-man, Thompson will not always be heard or heeded.

Then there is Congress. Thompson is the appointee of a Republican Administration. The Congress is con-

trolled by Democrats. The American people, unlike Indians, are not expected to always agree with each other.

Then Thompson has to please Nixon or Morton or be fired. He might find himself in the position of championing clear Indian mandates and conflicting with his bosses. Louis Bruce paid dearly for his stand that way.

Within his own agency, Thompson also faces problems — reorganization plans are overlapping each other with new ones coming out before earlier ones have been completely implemented. No matter what Thompson does he will make some segment of the bureaucracy unhappy. Then there are the various vested interests in the native community, alleged conflicts between urban and reservation folk, grassroots vs. the aristocracy, tribal chairmen vs. their people. Whichever way Thompson moves, one side or the other will complain.

The Watergate malaise itself also affects deeply the forward movement of native concerns which at this stage in America's demise is a "luxury concern." Thompson may well receive no critical assistance from the White House either in Congress or elsewhere while the White House is embroiled in its own defense — and survival.

And last of all is the fact that Thompson will have to operate on budgets set in concrete by Marvin Franklin, the not-quite commissioner who ran the bureau after Louis Bruce was ousted. Any Thompson impact on BIA spending will have to wait a year.

The new commissioner will need sympathy — and strength.



— photo by Ted Hetzel  
Marvin Franklin . . . Innocence Lost

The man Thompson "unofficially" replaces is Marvin Franklin, an Oklahoma oil executive. Reflecting over his eight months in Washington, Franklin said he is glad he was an old man when he came to Washington. A younger man, he said, would have lost all faith in his fellow man as a result of his capital experience.

Franklin can take some pride in his work, but he also has a great deal of regret and disillusionment. In fact, the experience has been downright shattering. He feels political consideration scuttled his good intentions. "You have a job to do, and you want to carry out the wishes and desires of management. Yet when you try to carry out the management directives, those within the management are so divided it makes it impossible to do your job," Franklin said. "I've turned out to be a poor politician."

Native people can empathize easily with that statement, finding the same frustrations when they have tried to implement Administration promises.

"Too much in government is done on the form of things, on whether or not something is politically feasible," Franklin said. "There are so many influencing factors involved — you have Congress, the special interests of the congressional committees, any number of outside organizations that utilize every known power to influence decisions."

Franklin said he had asked not to be named commissioner because it was clear that a BIA commissioner did not have authority to control the Bureau.

"Are you really going to let the Indian develop his own expression of self-determination, or are you going to run the BIA in a manner that best suits the





— photo by Bob Burchette/Washington Post

Roger Morton with Louis Bruce just days before he was canned as BIA commissioner (left photo). At right, he swears in Morris Thompson as BIA Commissioner while Ms. Thompson looks on: "I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God." He will need all the help God can give.

goals of government — which change constantly?" Franklin asks, in what he says is a "philosophical" question.

Franklin isn't sure now what his future holds. Maybe he will work with the newly-formed American Indian National Bank, or maybe return to Phillips Petroleum, his last employer.

He summarized his Washington experience: "From the management level down, this job has been rewarding. But in dealing from the management level up — I don't know how to describe it."

In the meantime, under Marvin Franklin, whom Morton appointed as his assistant for Indian Affairs without Senate approval, plans for reorganization were pushed.

The heart of the reorganization plan was to give greatly increased powers to the BIA's 11 area directors — the intermediaries between Washington and the agency heads who deal directly with native people. Even as steps were being taken to implement this plan, the number two budget man in Interior, John Seidl, wrote a confidential memorandum, later leaked to the press, recommending an opposite course.

The Seidl plan calls for replacing the current 11 area offices with six new ones in different locations, and cutting the area office staff head count from 2,000 to 560. Marvin Franklin, then temporarily "head" of the BIA, said the Seidl plan "is diametrically opposed to all of the things I believe to be beneficial to the American Indian."

In October, Franklin had said he was in a position to change two-thirds of the top management of the BIA, thus to counteract a wave of criticism against giving area directors more power. Several area directors' jobs are now vacant: Sid Carney of Anadarko recently underwent open heart surgery, the Muskogee director retired as did Portland, Oregon; the Juneau spot is vacant because of Thompson's promotion, Minneapolis area director has asked to be replaced and is near retirement, and two other directors, whom Franklin did not name "have expressed a desire to be reassigned."

Franklin said that on the agency level, there are many vacancies and many people need to be rotated to be trained for higher positions.

Franklin said that the reason the BIA was not responsive to Indian needs was not because of the system, but because of the personnel. "This is probably the result of having kept certain personnel in positions at particular locations for too long a time," he said.

The Interior Department is already wooing tribal council chairmen to its position on reorganization. The plan means, for instance, that instead of area offices being located in Anadarko and Muskogee, Oklahoma, there will be an office in Dallas, Texas, in the new regional federal offices set-up.

Under the Nixon federal reorganization plan, little Washington D.C.-style offices will be established in New York, Atlanta, Washington itself, Chicago, Dallas and San Francisco.

Sydney Freeman and Al Yanak, management analysts for the Interior Department, talked with tribal officials in Oklahoma and found almost unanimous opposition to the idea. "They just sit up there in their suits in paneled offices and don't think about our problems," one woman told them regarding BIA officials.



Yanak tried to explain that the new reorganization would change all that. "BIA is not exercising its role as spokesman for the Indians. Can we, by increasing organizational efficiency, get more money down to the Indians?"

He did not explain how the BIA could act as "Indian spokesman" if it could not even listen to Indian voices regarding its own organization.

(Thanks to Sam Fox of the Tulsa Tribune, Race Relations Information Service, Vivian Vahlberg of the Washington Bureau of the Daily Oklahoman, the Associated Press, and Karen Ducheneaux and Richard LaCourse of the American Indian Press Association News Service, for information used here.)



United States Department of the Interior  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

OCT 11 1973

#### Memorandum

To: Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs  
From: Assistant Secretary-Public Land Management  
Subject: Instructions Not To Give Direct or Indirect Assistance to AIM Demonstration in Washington, D.C. Early in November.

The American Indian Movement (AIM) private association, has written that it is planning a caravan to Washington for a large number of Indians the first week in November. It is my understanding that requests have been made to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that it provide various assistance to facilitate the activities of AIM on this occasion.

This is to give you very specific instructions that the Bureau is not to provide any assistance or funding, either directly or indirectly.

Harrison Loesch  
Harrison Loesch

This memorandum is indicative of the kind of pressures under which a commissioner of Indian affairs operates. The hostility of Interior Department led, indirectly, to the subsequent occupation and destruction of BIA headquarters. During the occupation, Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, in a departmental news release, said, "From the first announcement of their visit, we made every effort to cooperate with the advance men of the caravan..."

Delegates to the National Tribal Chairmen's Association elected a new slate of officers. Elected to one year term were Robert Lewis, Zuni, as president; Elmer Savilla, Quechan, vice-president, and Nathan Littlesoldier of Fort Berthold as secretary.

The delegates were chastised by Robert Burnett, newly-elected tribal council chairman at Rosebud, who defeated the incumbent NTCA president, Webster Two Hawk. "Our people are starving while you are here playing," Burnett said. "Get out of the bars — I've seen too much playing here."

## What Makes An Indian Bank Indian?

Washington, D.C. — The American Indian National Bank has opened here, shrouded in controversy even before it got underway.

W.W. Keeler, "principal chief of the Cherokee Nation", was elected chairman of the board, while Barney Old Coyote is president — he is a former special assistant to the secretary of the interior. Charles W. Swallow is senior vice-president, coming from service as chief of credit and financing for the BIA. That line-up gives the bank a strong establishment look, with direct ties to the BIA.

While the bank has been touted as "bringing banking to the little man", it will not be of much use to individual native persons. Instead, it will try to garner deposits from tribal councils, collecting into one nest-egg claims commission payments and other holdings now scattered in local banks around the U.S. In return, it will try to pump capital into Indian industries and businesses.

The bank has been aided with \$889,000 in grants from the BIA, Economic Development Administration, Office of Minority Business Enterprise, and Office of

Economic Opportunity to train native people in banking and to provide "administrative support" for the first two years of the bank's existence.

The bank has taken offices on the third floor at 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.E., just a block away from the White House. Its prime source of operating capital came from the International Bank, a Washington institution, which provided \$1-million, and which holds all shares of bank stocks in a non-voting status until Indians exercise options to acquire all or part of the stock. Currently tribal trust funds amount to nearly \$200-million, according to figures and statistics in the Federal Budget.

The AINB was first proposed by George Olmstead, chairman of the International Bank, to Spiro Agnew. Agnew was a former director of that bank, too, and while he did not take an active interest in seeing that the project came into being, it was clearly understood in the bureaucracy just what was to be done.

Keeler, as president of the bank, is the second official connected with it to be convicted of offenses against the American people. Agnew was convicted on tax evasion charges. Keeler pleaded guilty in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., December 3 to contributing \$100,000 illegally to President Richard Nixon's 1972 campaign. He was fined \$1,000 for the offense, and Phillips Petroleum Company, of which he was board chairman at the time of the donation, was fined \$5,000.

Assistant Watergate prosecutor Thomas McBride said that Phillips had also given from \$50,000 to \$60,000 to a "substantial number of Congressional and Senatorial" candidates in the 1970 and 1972 elections.

What this will do with Keeler's position with the Cherokee Nation, of which he is "chief" under U.S. regulation is not known. Generally, tribal constitutions approved by the Interior Department forbid felons from holding office.

(Thanks to Glenn Troelstrup, Denver Post Staff Writer, to Associated Press, and the American Indian Press Association News Service for information used here.)



# Misuse Of Tribal Funds At San Carlos

Tucson, Arizona — A government audit of the San Carlos Apache tribal council operations has disclosed wide-spread misuse of funds by tribal officials — but the Interior Department has refused to make the audit available to tribal members or the public.

The audit had been conducted after *The Arizona Republic*, a Phoenix newspaper, published a copyrighted story of the financial woes of the tribe.

The audit, done by the Office of Survey and Review of the Interior Department, reveals that 28 tribal officials, tribal managers, key employees or former councilmen owe the tribe \$212,420.

An investigation into allegations of criminal misuse of money by tribal council officials has been undertaken by the Federal Bureau of Investigations at the request of the U.S. Attorney's office here.

In November, 1972, *The Arizona Republic* revealed that the tribe was on the verge of bankruptcy. It was only after that story that the BIA moved into action, although it had been aware of the difficulties for some time previous.

Marvin Franklin, special assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, said that the "audit wasn't an audit" but only a "study of procedures". There were too many records missing or not properly kept to allow any conclusions to be drawn, he said in refusing to allow the documents to be revealed.

Franklin had personally visited the reservation to help tribal officials tighten up their operation so they could tap \$300,000 in trust funds held in Washington to pay outstanding debts. The year before, tribal officials had withdrawn another \$400,000 of trust monies for debts, which apparently had little effect on the council's financial situation.

The San Carlos Apache Tribal Council has five enterprises: the San Carlos Trading Enterprise, Bylas Trading Enterprise, Seneca Lake Enterprise, San Carlos Enterprise, and the Livestock and Farming Enterprise. Records on the various businesses were too poor for auditors to complete financial statements. Instead, they commented on the poor condition of the books, lack of control over cash and checks, allegations of improprieties, and a report on indebtedness to the tribal loan funds.

In addition to accounting malpractice, auditors noted that the board of directors had not met in more than two years, the business manager's job was vacant, credit was extended without required applications and approvals, tribal budgets had been "significantly exceeded." A management plan previously adopted had not been implemented.

Marvin Mull, Sr. . . a new style of leadership replaces 'old-fashioned' chiefs



Tribal chairman Marvin Mull, Sr., and his son, Marvin Mull, Jr., controlled cash receipts and disbursements with the latter serving as both office manager and bookkeeper. Cash was given out without receipts or approval, checks were written without required signatures, and individuals wrote checks to themselves.

Mull Sr. and Jr. made loans to each other from tribal funds, and used checks from tribal enterprises to buy furniture and carpeting for their homes. According to the audit, Chairman Mull, vice chairman Edmund Wesley, and former councilman Henry Harris used tribal funds to construct their homes. There were no council resolutions covering the construction, and the money came from the tribe's Livestock and Farming Enterprise, whose plan of operation prohibits loans. There were no mortgage agreements covering the homes. Mull drew out \$20,365, \$15,900 went to Wesley, and \$15,612 to Harris.

Of the money ostensibly for Mull's house, one check for \$15,500 was made payable to Mull himself and deposited in his personal bank account. The amount



San Carlos Apaches . . . beset with poverty, alcoholism, and corruption in tribal government.

Mull received was \$6,370 in excess of the contract price of Mull's home.

Mull Sr. also received 16 loans totalling \$7,250 from various tribal enterprises, the tribal government itself and the San Carlos Special Fund which was set up for construction of an office building with monies from the tribal council's accounts held for individual Apaches. None of the disbursements were posted on the council's accounts-receivable statements. There were other disbursements of checks from the special account, for instance, a \$1,500 check for cash and a \$1,284 check endorsed, "Cash Received by M.M. Jr."

"It appears obvious that the disbursements were not for the construction of an office building, the alleged purpose of the fund," the audit report states dryly.

## "An Invitation to Steal"

The manner in which the tribal government operated under BIA control was an invitation to steal, the audit concluded.

"There are virtually no controls to prevent or disclose errors, thefts, shortages, embezzlements or other misappropriation of funds," the statement said. The audit took five months to compile. No copies of the 40-page document were released to the Phoenix area office of the BIA, although that office is charged with direct supervision of the San Carlos reservation.

Petty cash funds were without documentation, and credit cards for gasoline had no controls as to their use. No personnel records are maintained, and hiring and firing is at the whim of Mull Sr., his son, and various enterprise managers. The approved budget for the tribal court was \$20,400, while the actual costs were \$59,992, a 294% overexpenditure.

Virtually the entire San Carlos Reservation population owes money to the tribal council, the auditors' figures reveal. Most of the money loaned to tribal members, according to a 1970 BIA report, was put out during Mull's administration, and was for the purpose of insuring political support during tribal elections.

The San Carlos and Bylas Trading Enterprises had 3,573 accounts receivable, amounting to \$1.5-million, with \$1.2-million of that over a year old.

There are 4,686 Apaches on the 1.8-million-acre reservation.

According to the audit, Chairman Mull owes the largest amount of the tribe's debtors, some \$41,153 according to the audit as of April 30, 1973.

It is not as though there is so much gravy at San Carlos that everyone is getting rich. A recent survey showed that while Chairman Mull is well-housed, 923 of the 1122 homes on the reservation are unfit for habitation.

Tribal employment can be important with unemployment ranging between 25 and 40%. A 50-acre industrial park, finished two years ago, stands idle, the home for squirrels, rabbits and snakes. It is poorly located, and there are no adequate rail connections. The largest on-reservation employer is the BIA.

Granted these conditions, social problems are rife. There is heavy drinking — 3,428 arrests for drunken-

ness in 1971, including 459 juveniles. In a recent seven-month period, there were 30 suicide attempts, nine by teenagers, and 24 by persons aged 29 or younger.

The next election for tribal chairman is in 1974. Younger Apaches are expected to repudiate all existing factions and run a candidate on their own, although the power structure can be hard to beat.

The "progress" of the San Carlos Apaches in the business world has often been hailed by the BIA as an example of economic development and self-determination in the Indian world.

(Thanks to Robert Thomas of the *Arizona Republic*, and to Joel Nilsson, writing for the *Associated Press*, for this info.)

Phoenix, Arizona — Exactly how much water native people will receive from the new Central Arizona Project will be decided by Secretary of Interior Rogers C.B. Morton. That's the word from Gilbert Stamm, commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, an agency of the Department of Interior along with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Central Arizona Project, the \$1.2-billion water-diversion project designed to bring Colorado River water to central and southern Arizona by the 1980s, could mean that native communities will receive more — or less — water than before. Or, it could mean that water-rich communities will be cutback while other native communities will receive somewhat more — but the big winners will be the non-Indian towns and farmers.

Stamm said another issue which must be resolved before the municipal and industrial contract allocations can be made is the "agreement with the Fort McDowell (Indian) community regarding construction of Orme Dam." There seems to be no question in his mind that the dam will be built, but the exact terms must be decided in negotiations.

The Apache/Mohave people of Fort McDowell have largely opposed the project, saying 300 people would be displaced, and much of their homeland would be lost. The dam would be built northeast of Scottsdale, and would store Colorado River water brought overland through a system of aqueducts to Arizona's central desert. For part of the year there would be a lake there, and for the rest it would be mud flats.

Stamm said the dam and reservoir would provide the native people with "recreational benefits," and the CAP would provide services and new housing for the native people to be relocated.

(Thanks to Joel Nilsson, *Arizona Star* writer.)

Flagstaff, Arizona — Forty-nine young native persons were arrested here October 22 on a variety of misdemeanor charges while they danced around a campfire in a city park. Police said most of the dancers were in their teens or 20s. There were no incidents, police said.

Authorities said they were trying to determine if the Indians planned a protest, or if the Sunday gathering was simply a social affair. (AP)

(With 49 persons arrested, the event will probably start a new round of legends about how the social function native people know as "the 49er" got started.)



# B.I.A. Interferes With Potawatomis Internal Affairs

*Mayetta, Kansas* — During all the strife at Pine Ridge arising before and after the Wounded Knee occupation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs said it had no power to suspend a tribal government, even if it were corrupt, since it never "interfered in internal tribal affairs."

But here with the Potawatomis, the Keepers of the Fire, the BIA has suspended the tribal government because it won't go along with BIA dictates.

When the Potawatomis were forced onto their reservation north of Topeka in 1848, they had communal holdings of nearly five-million acres. With the Bureau of Indian Affairs as trustee, looking out after their interests, the present communal holdings of the Potawatomis is 350 acres. Most of the land owned by individual members of the nation is leased out through the BIA, and individuals wishing to spend the money must petition the agent and explain how and why they would like to spend their money.

The Potawatomis originally lived in the eastern part of the midwest, and there are still remnant groups living at Walpole Island and Kettle Point, Ontario, in Michigan, Indiana, and elsewhere.

The tribal government of the Kansas group consists of an annually-elected business committee. Traditionally, this committee has merely served as an instrument of the will of the BIA. In 1970, however, a group of Potawatomis formed a group called the Tribal Action Committee (TAC). Representing a cross-section of the membership, TAC stood for increased self-determination and development through self-help. Through TAC efforts, the Potawatomis gained the right to legally hunt and fish on their own lands without a license, tribal meetings were held publicly, and social service and educational programs were developed.

Support for TAC grew rapidly, and in the tribal elections in June, 1971, the group gained control of the Business Committee. In the 1970 elections, only about a few score of Potawatomis bothered to vote, but 330 turned out to support TAC in 1971. Refusing to relinquish their controls, the BIA said the election was invalid, and reinstated the old committee.

The first Potawatomis constitution was drawn up by the agency superintendent for the BIA in 1932. It was approved only by people who came to be the "tribal leadership." Interior Department officials gave their approval to the constitution, and some years later, it was also voted in by the tribe itself under a special election called under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

TAC took the decision to court. While the BIA decision was upheld by the court, it was ordered that another election was to be held. But the BIA said it would be held in Horton, a distance from the reservation, and at the BIA agency. That backfired — at the Horton polling place, TAC was voted in by an even larger margin than before, and the BIA could not protest an election which it had supervised.

With TAC at the wheels, even more advances were made in housing, education, and other social services. But the real opportunity for change for the Potawatomis came when the Jesuits agreed to give them nearby St. Marys College.

Most recently a Jesuit Seminary, the college had been founded as a Jesuit Mission for Potawatomis children. The college and grounds included 11 buildings, a farm, and 1,380 acres of land. It had once been the center of the reservation. After several months of negotiations, the Jesuits agreed to turn the land over to the Potawatomis for the development of an independent Potawatomis community which would provide housing, employment, and a cultural center. One string was attached: if the Potawatomis quit using the site, it would go back to the Jesuits.

That was fine with the Potawatomis, but the BIA objected. An independent community would be out of BIA control. It rejected the agreement, and would not allow the Potawatomis themselves to take title to the land, nor would the BIA take title in trust for them.

Nonetheless, an agreement was completed. Frustrated, the BIA initiated an attack of coercion — tribal funds were frozen, the FBI seized the books and threatened the business committee members with jail, funds promised for planned programs were refused, and all sources of money were cut off.

When the tribal chairman tried to call a meeting to disprove the charges of mismanagement of funds, the BIA said since he was under suspension, a tribal meeting could not be called by him.

Eventually, the tribal committee members with government jobs began to denounce the other leaders. BIA pressure was suspected. So the Potawatomis people showed their support by voting out the dissenters, but the BIA refused to recognize the results of the election.

On August 2, three members of the Business Committee (Lester Jessepe, chairman; Francis Battese, and Nelson Potts) called an election to recall the other four members of the committee (vice-chairman Joe Nioce, secretary-treasurer Shirley Numoz, Ernest Nioce, and Elwin Shoptese.)

Francis Battese acknowledges that the election was not held strictly according to the constitution. He said, however, that it was impossible to adhere to the document because most of the tribal members now live away from the reservation — it takes 30% of the enrolled membership to sign a recall petition.

Battese said 150 people attended the recall meeting. There are a potential 300 qualified resident voters. 99 people voted, sixty for recall and 30 against. But since the BIA is obligated to follow the letter of the constitutional law, it says, it could not approve the election.

Ignoring the BIA, chairman Jessepe and the "new" committee continued to conduct tribal business, including the expenditure of tribal funds. The BIA refused to recognize these expenditures as legal because they lacked the approval of the "old" committee and refused to release tribal funds. Jessepe and his group continued to operate, relying on credit and money given to the Nation from other sources.

During this state of events, tribal programs came to a standstill. The Housing Authority could not improve or repair homes, meaning that old people had to live through another winter without needed aid.

"Many of our people have already left our reservation and sold their land because living conditions are too hard," a tribal newsletter said. "How many more people will leave this year? Is Carson [the local BIA agent] trying to get our people to give up the reservation rather than helping us get it back?"

The Potawatomis started to put heavy pressure on Washington to investigate the harassment, but their appeals were ignored. When 75 Potawatomis went to Horton to confront the local BIA agency with their grievances, the officials refused to talk with them, and called in the police, resulting in the use of tear gas and physical violence against several tribal members. As a result, they occupied the agency and left only after a promise, by phone, that a representative from Washington would be sent to investigate.

When the Washington representative arrived, he spent 45 minutes with the Potawatomis, mostly to explain that he had no authority to do anything about the situation.

Support began to muster for the Potawatomis from the American Indian Movement and non-Indian interest groups. So in mid-August, 1972, the BIA called tribal leaders to Washington to discuss the situation.

Ernest Stevens, an assistant to then-commissioner of the BIA Louis R. Bruce, took responsibility for the case, and pledged to the tribal representatives that their funds would be unfrozen, restrictions imposed on the tribe would be removed, local BIA officials would be investigated, and a community developer would be sent to aid in planning for the program at St. Marys. Stevens said that within thirty days, either the present Business Committee would be validated, or that new elections would be held.

In return, Stevens asked that the Jesuits and the Business Committee remove the reversionary clause from the deed to the St. Marys property, thereby returning it to the jurisdiction of the BIA. Stevens promised a new program of cooperation with the Potawatomis Nation. A week later, the Business Committee signed a resolution requesting the BIA to take the St. Marys land in trust for the Potawatomis — without the reversionary clause.

The following week, the Potawatomis were notified that Stevens had acted without authority in making these pledges, and the BIA would not honor his commitments.

A resolution was drawn up by BIA officials requesting the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to suspend the constitution, and it was hand-carried to each member of the "old Business Committee." The four members who had been recalled signed the document, and the three members who called the new election refused.

BIA officials now take the position that such a document was not necessary to effect the suspension, saying, "it was just a bit of added, extra insurance." They — and later, Interior officials — say that since the Potawatomis did not have a real IRA constitution, the Indian Commissioner had full legal power to act. Thus it was that on September 28, 1972, the commissioner sent a memorandum to Potawatomis Superintendent Jack Carson announcing his intent to suspend the constitution and withdraw recognition of the "old" committee.

That decision was not known to the Potawatomis when Chairman Jessepe called a general council meeting of the Potawatomis for purposes of amending the

tribal constitution. And Carson didn't tell him that in a matter of days, he would be suspended.

On October 4, using his authority under 25 U.S. Code A (2), Indian Commissioner Bruce sent a memo to the Potawatomis tribal members. That section of law says that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under the direction of the Secretary of Interior, "has the management of all Indian affairs and of all matters arising out of Indian relations."

Bruce said the superintendent would call a general meeting in the near future to select a constitutional committee which would have the sole purpose of making a draft of a proposed constitution.

Jessepe responded October 9 in a six-page letter. "We believe your attempt to suspend our constitution unilaterally, based upon false statements and without consulting our people, represents a violation of our right to due process under the U.S. Constitution," he said. His letter also castigated the interference of BIA officials in tribal affairs.

When Bruce did not reply (the letter became ensnarled in the bureaucratic tangle, BIA officials claim), Jessepe appealed to the Interior Secretary. But in the meantime, superintendent Carson issued a notice setting a date for the election of a constitutional committee as November 11.

But it was on November 2 that the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan took over the BIA headquarters in Washington to protest numerous grievances, and left behind a Twenty Point Proposal, which, if instituted, would meet most of the Potawatomis demands. Allegedly during the occupation in Washington, threats were made to bomb the community building where the Potawatomis meeting was to be held. At least that is what superintendent Carson said was his reason for cancelling the November 11 meeting.

On December 11, Jessepe, Battese, and Potts filed suit in Kansas U.S. District Court asking that the election of a constitutional drafting committee be enjoined, and asking the court to rule on the legality of Bruce's suspension of their constitution. A hearing was held on December 21.

On March 5, 1973, the court handed down an order ordering Interior Secretary Rogers Morton to answer Jessepe's appeal to him of Bruce's decision. The court said that once Jessepe had exhausted this, the last of the "administrative remedies," the court would rule on the merits of the complaint.

On June 27, acting on behalf of Morton, Marvin L. Franklin, his assistant, responded to the Jessepe appeal and upheld Bruce's action; he also called for a new meeting to elect a constitutional committee.

That meeting was scheduled for September 29, but on September 11, the court denied the request for an injunction, and the election went ahead as scheduled.



The BIA claims that its suspension of the constitution was done at a request from "the majority of the business committee". An Interior Department press release said that "it was hoped that this action would end the factionalism resulting from weaknesses in that government document and clear the way for a new constitution that would unite the tribe behind its governing body."

But the constitutional dispute was still raging in September, 1973, when Marvin Franklin announced from the Interior offices that representatives of the National Center for Dispute Settlement would preside at a meeting of the Potawatomis in Horton.

The selection of the NCDS, a non-profit private organization devoted to the peaceful resolution of public and community issues, Franklin said without irony, was "to foster an atmosphere where democratic processes and self-determination can function."

William Lincoln, who was sent to Kansas by the NCDS, did chair the meeting as scheduled. He opened the meeting, and promptly closed it.

"The election was called off solely because as professional impartial we could not conduct the election in an impartial manner because of difference of political views among the Potawatomis over the purpose, procedures, or perimeters of the election."

Lincoln insisted to BIA officials that he could get agreement among the members over these issues, and asked for the opportunity to do so. The BIA is currently studying that proposal.

While the complications of this detailed account may be boring, they show two things: the BIA can and does interfere in tribal matters when it suits its own purpose, and secondly, tribal governments organized under BIA regulations can have their license to operate only when they follow BIA mandates. By now, perhaps, Potawatomis are wondering what happened to their traditional form of government, which received its sanctions from the Creation instead of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

(Thanks to Shelter Half, and to Karen Ducheneaux of the American Indian Press Association News Service for information used in this article.)



# California:

## QUECHAN PEOPLE RECLAIM LAND



**Winterhaven, California** — The Quechan people, backed by their tribal council, reclaimed 152 acres of land here after the United States failed to protect their interest in the site from local developers. Using a bulldozer, land-levelling equipment, and bows and arrows, the Quechan took over the site October 3 after a series of legal maneuvers seemed useless.

The tribal council reaffirmed its support of the reclamation in November after U.S. District Court Judge Gordon Thompson had denied the Quechan request for an injunction to prevent white developers from building on Sleepy Hollow just west of Yuma, Arizona, near the International Border.

Judge Thompson ruled that the Quechan could not provide sufficient evidence of ownership if the case were to come to trial, according to tribal councilman Wallace Antone.

That stance only added fuel to the fire, and Elmer M. Savilla, tribal council president, said the whole Quechan people would march to Sleepy Hollow to see that no one else entered the site. "If Sleepy Hollow is to become another Indian uprising," Savilla said, "so be it. If necessary, I will be the first to fall in defense of our ancestral homeland."

The Quechans were careful to say they were not looking for trouble, and would not provoke violence.

"If violence comes, it will come from the county," Savilla asserted. Sheriff's deputies presumably would be the law enforcement agency dispatched to the scene.

In a statement at the time of the reclamation, Savilla referred to December 4, 1883, the date a reservation agreement was completed between the United States and the Quechan Nation, as "a day of infamy." In the days before the agreement, he said, government officials had spent their time beating and murdering the Quechans to coerce them into signing.

He began his statement by saying, "Basically, we're fed up with federal bureaucracy and unwillingness to help us with our land claims." He accused Secretary

of Interior Rogers C.B. Morton and the appropriate agencies of his department with "failing to carry out trust responsibilities that they are obligated to." Previously, he said, Morton had been invited to come and discuss the Quechan claims, but now, he said, "Morton is no longer welcome here. We Quechans have reached the point of frustration where we will do anything necessary to protect our lands."

He said the Quechans had also given up on Government lawyers, and had hired their own to protect their interests.

A few campers and cars were chased from the land seven miles southwest of the Quechan reservation so cleanup crews could work on the area. The total Quechan land now covers slightly less than 9,000 acres along the Colorado River north of Winterhaven. According to treaty, another 43,000 acres of land should be theirs, including a portion of Yuma.

The disputed 152 acres were leased to Imperial County by the Imperial Irrigation District, which claims it holds title to the land. The county, in turn, subleased the land to a San Diego corporation to build campgrounds under the name "Andrade-Sunrise Resort Parks."

Despite the reclamation of the land by the Quechans, the IID voted unanimously to approve the sublease signed by the county.

"They have broken their word," Savilla charged. "We had a gentlemen's agreement with Imperial County not to sublease the land until ownership was resolved."

IID manager R.F. Carter pooh-poohs the claim.

"Just because they occupy it, what kind of claim is that? It's ridiculous. If they felt so keenly years ago, why didn't they do something then? It's a plain case of trespassing."



— Arizona Republic/John J. Harrigan photo  
*Elmer Savilla confers with his people at reclamation*

Carter is convinced the IID title to the land is superior to any claim the Quechans might have — goes all the way back to 1889, he says.

"We have a deed and title policy to it," Carter bragged. "I think they ought to do a little homework and check the title to it. That land was a patent from the State of California to Hall Hamlin in June, 1889."

The disputed tract is a grove of salt cedar, and is in sight of the U.S. village of Andrade, and the Mexican village called Algodones. It is reportedly very close to the site of Fort Defiance which preceded Fort Yuma. For many years, it had been the home of squatters living in derelict trailers and trucks. The new campsite would have room for 154 campers — and would require an investment of about \$3-million.



Encouraged by the success of their reclamation, physically if not legally, the Quechans sent a delegation to Washington to press the filing of a suit on their behalf. Federal participation in legal action seemed necessary since the United States alone can exercise the trust responsibility, and the tribal council has no standing in law for such an action.

In Washington, they got the usual story. The Quechan people must leave the site, end the occupation, and then the Bureau of Indian Affairs would study the situation and turn the matter over to the courts for "final resolution."

A BIA official told reporters, "We have received no response to our request that they peacefully vacate the land and if they don't, the sheriff probably will be asked by the developer to take some action." Another government official said there was a split opinion on the matter within the BIA, and one faction believed strongly the U.S. should seek an injunction on behalf of the Quechan people.

Savilla, apparently familiar with sweet talk, said there was no way the Quechans would vacate. He said that if the U.S. would make a "firm commitment" to filing an injunction, he would consider abandoning the occupation.

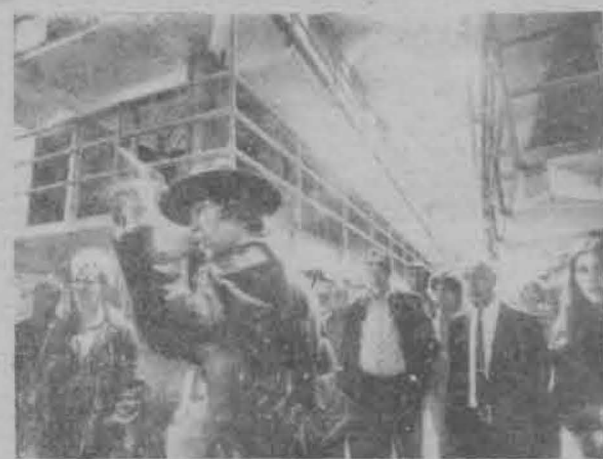
For the developers, Lew Arthur, a partner in the enterprise, said, "It's an unfortunate thing, but they'll be hearing from us soon."

The Quechans have three other lawsuits pending. They want an injunction to reform the outdated and condemned Imperial County Jail in El Centro which they say often has native inmates, and which is overcrowded and unsanitary. Then there is a suit against the county sheriff for having arrested the Quechan's game warden when he confiscated rifles from white hunters violating the tribal game management program regulations.

The Quechans were also successful in attempts to enjoin the county and the sheriff from preventing the Quechans to enforce game and fish laws on the reservation, but the county now has that matter on appeal in San Francisco.

(Thanks to the Arizona Republic's Western Arizona Bureau, including John Harrigan, John Donner of the San Diego Union, Virginia Horn of the Imperial Valley Press, and John Nunes of the same paper, and the Associated Press for this information, sent to us by Peter R. Odens.)

## New Plans For Alcatraz



—United Press International photo  
*Federal guide shows off Alcatraz, America's heritage*

**San Francisco, California** — The Thanksgiving Day for the United States marked the fourth anniversary of the Indians of All Tribes reclamation of Alcatraz.

But the U.S. Park Service celebrated the occasion a little differently than what the native people had intended: in November, it opened the island to public tour. While the native occupiers of the island had open house there a number of times, this was the first time in 125 years that the U.S. had allowed visitors on the island.

Thus the famed prison, "Devil's Island", with its black isolation holes, the tiny cells, forbidding buildings, was viewed by 650 ticket-holding tourists on the very first day of the tours, with full line-ups assured for some time into the future.

The prison was, of course, empty of prisoners — perhaps comfortably so. Incarcerated natives in California's many penal institutions must have wished that there were 650 or more people coming to the currently used prisons, either to visit, or on inspection tours — and that the funds used to fix up the old ruins of Alcatraz had been used instead to help them get out from behind their walls, back with their people.

The tiny 22.5 acres was too small for much — the land was too barren for gardens, the weather was cold and foggy, the only accommodations during the time of the occupation by native people were dusty, cold cement cells. But the idea was on a higher level than comfort — a call was out for Indians of all tribes to come to give support and to help build an Indian Cultural Center.

Before then, the United States had planned to turn over the abandoned prison to H. Lamar Hunt, Texas millionaire. He had obtained permission from city supervisors ten days before the native people took Alcatraz back — he wanted to build a space museum.

Now, though, the interruption of the native people quelled talk of the space exhibition. Alcatraz became a symbolic victory of resistance, a sign of land returning to native people instead of being lost. In the abandoned cells there remained something which all people who have been held captive can understand. Eventually, though, after 18 months, the United States moved in forcibly and armed guards removed the native group and installed their own in their place.

The U.S. Bureau of Prisons closed Alcatraz, saying the \$15 per day per inmate was too costly. In 1972, responsibility for the turf in the middle of San Francisco Harbor was turned over to the National Park Service. William J. Whalen, director of the area's parks, decided that before the NPS went through with its plans, the public should be allowed to see the island as it was.

David B. Ames, a NPS official, says the U.S. is still open to ideas as to what can be done with the island.

Since a cultural center for native people apparently isn't going to be an acceptable idea, Indians of All Tribes has suggested ceding the island over to nature, and a special Alcatraz Foundation has been formed to promote that object. Persons supporting the native idea [see box] can communicate with the Director, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

### THE ALCATRAZ FOUNDATION

*The Alcatraz Foundation is formed to cede Alcatraz Island to wilderness. We believe the island should be renovated to the undeveloped state. Our purpose is to administer funds to the task of carefully removing all the structures which at present stand so heavily upon our mother, earth, at Alcatraz.*

*The Alcatraz Foundation reposes in the conviction that our planet is meant for all the creatures. Wilderness belongs to all the peoples. Indians of All Tribes cleansed Alcatraz. What remains is to celebrate the place by tenderly dismantling the assortment of structures left behind there.*

*Of all humanity's durable works & ways, humility & modesty make the surest guide for this process. They will be our reminders. Let them be our monument at Alcatraz. Trust wild grasses, hare, pelican & harbor seals to flourish. It is for them.*

*... While there are many reasons to preserve local structures and to improve them, the buildings on Alcatraz scar the landscape there. We propose that the place be designated and set aside as a 'wilderness area' within the meaning of the term as defined by federal statutes, and do so address the directors of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area.*

*Funds donated from income subject to federal tax should be exempted therefrom and forwarded to the San Francisco Ecology Center, 13 Columbus Ave., San Francisco 94111, earmarked 'The Alcatraz Foundation.'*

(Thanks to the New York Times News Service, Yerba Buena, the Associated Press, and El Teocolote for information used in this article.)



# Greeds, Courts Intrude on Hupa Nation Lands



**Hupa, California** — A recent U.S. court decision which threatens to put 1,345 Hupa reservation residents at the mercy of 3,300 Yuroks living all over the United States has caused panic, concern, and the threat of staunch resistance on this Northern California reservation.

The reservation lies in the quiet of the beautiful Trinity River Valley in Humboldt County. Its boundaries were drawn up in 1864, ending a costly war. A condition for the Hupas to reside on their aboriginal lands was that they would not leave the reservation without obtaining passes from the Indian agent.

At about the same time, the U.S. Congress decreed that there should be no more than four reservations in all of California, a land with a multitude of nations, languages, and cultures.



To the north of the Hupas lived the Yuroks. In order to provide land for the Yuroks, without violating the four-reservation limitation, the bureaucrats in the administration of U.S. President Benjamin Harrison linked the two reservations together to make them one. That link was an extension of land one mile wide on each side of the Klamath River north from the point it joins the Trinity. It became known as "The Addition," and with the exception of infrequent inter-marriages, there was no co-mingling between the two nations. Each retained its own religion and language.

As time passed, allotments of timberlands on the strip were awarded the Yuroks. These were sold to timber interests for amounts in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, benefiting individual Yuroks. The Hupas did not share in the Yurok money.

Thus when the time came to cut timber at Hupa, the Hupas merely added to the tribal treasury, and made a per capita allotment to everyone living on the reservation, including a few Yuroks.

Funds derived from the precious timberlands of Douglas fir, amounting to over a million dollars a year, are used for schools and medical care for all residents. After these items have been looked after, there is a per capita payment to enrolled Hupas. The reservation is a 12-mile square.

But a recent court decision in the case of *Jessie Short et al v. The United States*, it was ruled that the Hupas

and the Yuroks are one, entitled to an equal share in everything, and to a voice in all affairs. While that might not be just, it becomes completely tragic with the realization that there are only 200 Yuroks who are reservation residents — a total of 3,300 others live away and are primarily interested in a cash payment rather than long range future or such matters as health.

The United States, of course, also demands the right to define who is and who is not a Yurok, and gives that definition to everyone who has a Yurok grandparent, even though the other three grandparents could be Chinese, African, and Russian.

The judgment also provides that payments will be retroactive to the 1950s, when timber income first was made. This initial figure alone would amount to about \$13-million.

"It is our hope that our request for a hearing before the U.S. Supreme Court will be granted and that our desire to follow due process of law will be observed," said Peter Masten Jr., chairman of the Hupa Valley Business Council. "As it now stands, we are faced by an unfair claims court decision that not only threatens to destroy our economy, but our ancient cultural values as well. This unjust decision we cannot accept."

Masten points out that the Hupa Reservation was not granted by the U.S., but was won in a war settled by a treaty of peace and friendship, and that it is not out of the question for the Hupas to fight once more.

The Hupas decided to hold their lands in common, meaning that any land sold must be sold to another Hupa. The Yuroks decided to allot their land, meaning a Yurok could sell his share of land to anyone he pleased. Now about 90% of the Yurok land is gone.

"If there are Yuroks who are true traditional people, we call upon them to repudiate the greedy, and to cleanse themselves of this wrong," a declaration published by the Hupas reads.

Actually, the decision the Hupa have shrugged off as "ridiculous" was made a decade ago. But it was in late October that it was upheld by the U.S. Court of Claims.

"We don't give a damn what the court says," Masten said. "We know it's wrong and we won't abide by it."

The money supports such tribal efforts as a health clinic, home construction program, credit organization, schools. After the budget is taken care of, profit shares are distributed on a per capita basis.

On the Yurok side, adviser Allan Morris called upon U.S. President Richard Nixon to revoke the jurisdiction of the Hoopa Valley Tribe and assist in the formation of a "representative Reservation Council."

The original suit was filed by 16 plaintiffs on March 27, 1963. It was shrugged off then by the Hupas as "ridiculous". In fact, on advice of legal counsel, the Hupa business council decided not to intervene in the case in any way. The case proceeded along very slowly, and was not set for trial until June of 1969. By then, it had become apparent that the tribe had to participate in the case if its interests were to be protected, and it was added to the case as a "friend", but the U.S. was listed as the defendant.

## YAKIMA SEAMAN CLAIMS FRAME-UP; FACES NAVY COURT-MARTIAL, PRISON

**San Francisco, California** — Ray Frazier, a twenty-seven-year-old Yakima man, faces a twenty-year sentence in a naval brig for an attempted murder charge on which he says he is innocent.

Frazier joined the Navy in June, 1972, when he was unable to find a job on his central-Washington reservation. He was assigned to the USS Ranger, an aircraft carrier working off Vietnam.

At 3 a.m. on June 19, in a storage locker sometimes used by junkies on board the ship as a "shooting gallery," someone split Larry Maitrejean's head apart with a heavy steel pipe. The U.S. Navy says the man holding the pipe was Frazier.

"Yeah, I got mixed up with drugs for awhile," Frazier admits. "But it wasn't hard on board the ship. The Ranger was a floating drug store — acid, grass, heroin, anything you wanted."

Maitrejean was a mess cook temporarily assigned to the Ranger. Frazier said he thought he was all right, but that other people didn't like him much.

"He threw the names of a lot of [drug] dealers around," Frazier says. "They were worried about getting arrested."

Inside the cramped storage locker, there was music playing from a stereo somebody had brought in. Besides Maitrejean and Frazier were two other men, Dale and Bob, who have since become the star witnesses against Frazier.

"We were all high," Frazier said. "I don't remember much of what happened after that." But in the next moment, someone split Maitrejean's skull — he was only recently released from hospital with a forty-stitch gash sewn up.



—Berkeley Barb photo  
Ray Frazier (right) and his attorney

By the next morning, Frazier had been arrested. He had been fingered by his two companions, Dale and Bob. When the carrier landed in San Francisco four days later, Dale and Bob fled immediately. They were finally captured together two months later in Albuquerque, New Mexico, by the FBI.

Incredibly, the Navy granted them immunity from prosecution in exchange for their testimony that Frazier had committed the assault.

"Their story just isn't true," Frazier says. But now, almost broke from the expenses of his court martial, Frazier stares into a twenty-year brig future.

Persons interested in his defense can call the Native American Defense Center in Berkeley, California, at 552-1071.

## WE SHALL NEVER FORGET THE ROOTS OF OUR BEING

"We, the Natinox-xwe, the Hupa People, have lived near the Center of this World far beyond the memories of men. We have prayed, held our sacred dances, and sought harmony within this beautiful valley of winding waters.

Our ancestors have resisted many times the threats to their being, and in each case, the Hupa have fought and won! Therefore today we declare:

1. We refuse to accept an unjust and malevolent decision that was made thousands of miles away and one which was based upon an inhumane and arbitrary distortion of our history . . .

2. The Yurok have their Center of the World, and their dance grounds that ring with their songs. Yet an evil and greedy few have convinced the many that because the inhumane Federal

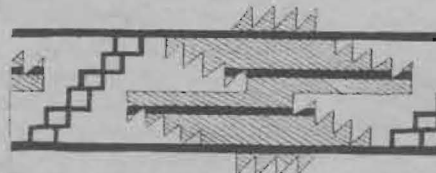
Government can rule and erode true Indian boundaries that it is "right" to take from the future generations of Hupa People. . .

3. If there are Yuroks who are true traditional people and who respect Indian Law, we call upon them to repudiate the greedy and to cleanse themselves of this wrong.

Our ancestors knew that all Tribes had boundaries, and therefore this true respect was given to one another which was based upon humanity, and not a foreign and evil destructive system.

. . . To the Hupa People, we must realize that this threat to our identity, our heritage, encroachment upon our sacred grounds, the infringement upon our rights, and the hope for our children is as serious as the Hupas have ever faced.

We must seek, discuss, and explore all avenues of action, and once agreed upon, we will have the strength and unity behind those people whom we have selected as our leaders and spokesmen. Each of us must do what we do best,



and out of this multitude of ideas and efforts, we shall respect one another and once again live secure within the Center of Our World.

6. Lastly, we declare to the People of the World: The day has long since past where the integrity and destiny of a people can be manipulated by an inhumanly cold and unjust system, thousands of miles away. We ask that you write, demand, cry out against this strangling neo-colonialism and let the sovereign Hupa Nation truly develop their self-direction and self-determination.

**WE DECLARE AS HUPA PEOPLE:**

We shall never forget the roots of our being, and the wisdom of our elders. Our religion and history have taught us that we arose from the land of our beautiful valley and that many have died in its defense. **WE CAN DO NO LESS!**

Peter H. Masten, chairman  
Rudolph Scottish,  
religious leader



# STRIP\* MINING IN MONTANA



**STRIP, to pull off in strips:  
TO TEAR off: TO DEPRIVE of  
A COVERING—TO SKIN, TO  
PEEL, TO MAKE BARE, TO  
DEPRIVE, TO UNDRESS.  
STRIPPING, THE LAST  
MILK FROM A COW.**

— Webster English Dictionary

## OUR MOTHER EARTH!

Washington, D.C. — The Northern Cheyennes have charged that the United States Government has given four major energy companies the power to "extinguish" their culture through strip mining, and the Cheyennes have mounted a legal drive to block the mining of several billion tons of coal in its reservation.

The native group, in a legal memorandum now under study at the Interior Department, say the Bureau of Indian Affairs has committed 36 violations of law in approving leases that give the power corporations the right to mine well over 60% of their 415,000-acre reservation.

The corporations involved are the Peabody Coal Co., which is owned by Kennicott Copper, the Consolidated Coal company of Pittsburgh, which is owned by Continental Oil, American Metal Climax, and Chevron Oil.

Faced with the so-called "energy crisis", the Interior Department seems to be fudging on its responsibilities. "America needs the Indians' coal," said Interior Department Solicitor Kent Frizzell, who has been delegated to work out a compromise on the issue.

But the Cheyennes point out that the Interior Department is supposed to act as a trustee for them, not for the coal companies. Last March, Northern Cheyenne leaders asked Interior Secretary Rogers C.B. Morton to cancel all existing permits and leases.

The Interior Department says the reason it has not cancelled the permits is that the tribal council subsequently asked for an extension so that newly retained attorneys could study the matter.

Interior Department officials have said that if there is a national energy crisis of disaster proportions, Congress could enact enabling legislation to expropriate the coal lands from the Cheyennes.



If there is no action, trouble appears to be certain. "The government is anxious to avoid another Wounded Knee," said one administration official familiar with the Cheyennes' charges against the BIA. The official noted that so far the Cheyennes have "worked within the system" and as a result, Interior Department is trying to satisfy them so as not to give credibility to the more militant minded.

One solution has been suggested by the Administration — get the Cheyennes to do their own strip-mining.



Strip Mining

— Billy Davis/Black Star

However, most experts realize that this would be almost impossible given the heavy capitalization required.

A United States district judge ruled in November, 1972, that coal and other minerals on the reservation were owned by the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, rather than the individual allottees of tribal land. That means that if the deals go through, land owners must allow the coal companies to strip their lands. One small hope of stopping the action rests with the ideal that the coal belongs to the tribe as a people, and not to the tribal council, which several years ago blindly told the BIA to issue exploratory permits. To date, there has been no referendum of the Northern Cheyenne people.

The Department of Interior prepared a draft environmental impact statement on Peabody's mining plan, which carries the glamorous name of "Big Sky Mine." Despite the demand of the Northern Cheyennes, the Interior Department went ahead to hold hearings on the statement at the Ramada Inn in Billings, several hours distant from the reservation. Those who had something to say on the subject were given ten minutes to do so. The hearings began December 4.

That there will be an impact on the environment is certain. The Bureau of Reclamation, in collaboration with some 35 power utility companies, released a study in October, 1971, entitled the "North Central Power Study." It proposed that 42 mine-mouth generating plants be constructed in Wyoming, Montana, and the Dakotas.

If constructed, these plants would 1) eat up a land surface area the size of New England, 2) produce more air pollution than the New York City and Los Angeles areas combined even using latest pollution control technology, 3) require 8,105 miles of right-of-way for transmission lines, 4) divert and use, through hundreds of miles of aqueducts 2.6 millions acre/feet of water annually (none of it to be recycled because of the cooling technique), 5) require 210-million tons of coal annually, and 6) destroy the last major sanctuary of fish and wildlife in the lower 48 states.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the heart of this Fort Union Coal Formation is the 437,000-acre Northern Cheyenne land with a very substantial share of the formation's 16-trillion tons of stripable coal reserves, as literally every square foot of the reservation is underlaid by thick coal seams.

227,000 acres of the reservation have been sold off already under exploratory coal permits with options to lease. Just one company, Consolidation Coal, would use 90,000 acres and a \$1.2-billion four-unit coal gasification complex that would require about 30,000 people to move onto the reservation in a new town yet to be constructed.

The Cheyennes charge that the whole project was done by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and while it had nominal Cheyenne Tribal Council approval, the BIA had not honored its trust responsibilities:

- a) the Tribal Council does not have the authority of the Cheyenne People to sign away their rights,
- b) no protection of lands and natural resources are in the contracts issued by the Interior Department,
- c) the contract provisions covering reclamation of the stripped land are inadequate,
- d) there is no definition of water and mineral rights reserved to the Cheyennes,
- e) the Cheyennes are being coerced, as a relatively-poverty-stricken people, to sign a contract since no existing alternatives have been proposed by the BIA.

Although financial income from coal leases and resulting royalties would be substantial, there is increasing anxiety expressed by many Northern Cheyennes that the real money will be made by the coal companies and the non-Cheyenne employees. Furthermore, they are not happy about a huge influx of non-Cheyennes taking over their homeland, not to mention having it almost completely destroyed by the strip-mining operation.

The Northern Cheyenne reservation is nearly all open range, dotted with pines, mountain meadows, rock croppings of old slag, and many streams and springs. Besides horses running free, there are scattered cattle herds.

Just 97 years ago, the Cheyenne land was still unceded, and many of their allies took sanctuary there from the American war machine. But in that year, 1876, the Cheyennes were labelled as "hostiles" and the U.S. Army started to put them down. What followed is well-known history: the Battle of the Rosebud, the Little Big Horn, the fateful Army attack on the Cheyenne village near Powder River.

A surrender and removal to Oklahoma followed, but after eighteen months and much sickness and death, some decided to go home. After six months and the long winter's march north, spring found the Cheyennes back home on Muddy Creek. They were allowed to stay if they agreed to scout for the Army. Five years later, an Executive Order decreed that the Cheyennes be granted this tiny portion of their original homeland as their permanent reservation.

On February 24, 1973, the first Northern Cheyenne Environmental Conference was held. Conservationists, scientists, other native peoples, lawyers, and writers were invited to attend. The Northern Cheyenne Landowners Association (formed recently in opposition to strip-mining and to help protect individual landowners' rights) organized the meet.

Following that, on March 5, the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council adopted and passed Resolution 132 (73) calling for "terminating and cancelling all existing coal permits and leases." That was during the height of the Wounded Knee occupation, and Interior Department officials urged prompt action on the petition lest there be more trouble.

But the Secretary of the Interior did not cancel the leases, and instead, ordered a "study" group formed.

On July 12, 1973, at the Northern and Southern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies (the original government and law of the Cheyenne) plus the Northern Cheyenne Research and Human Development Association, stated they were in full accord on supporting the cancellation of the leases.

"Our land we must keep forever, since it is synonymous with our identity, above all, our very existence as a Cheyenne people," the traditional leadership stated.

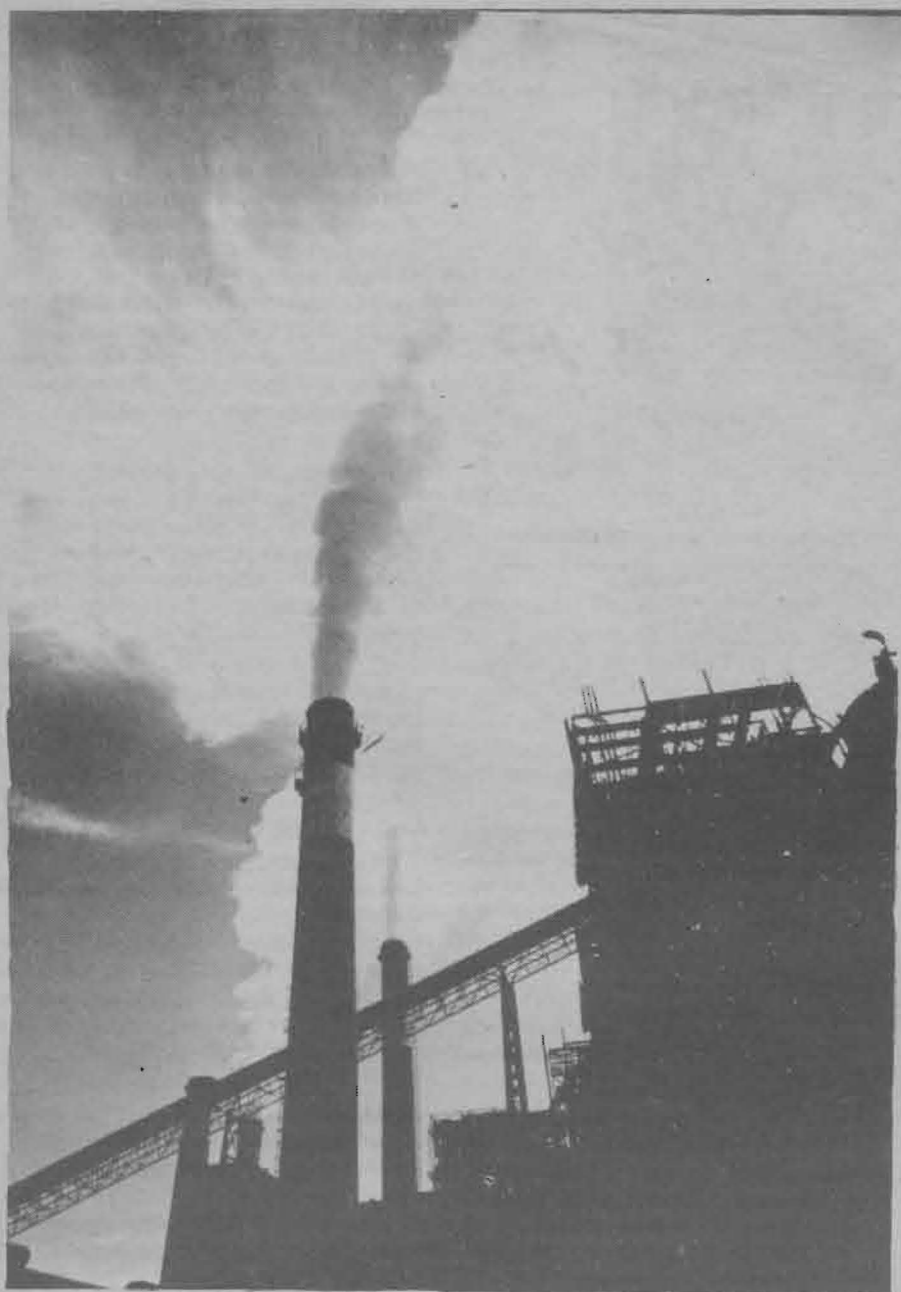
It would seem that with all that, there would be no trouble having the leases cancelled — but they are still in operation. Now the Cheyenne people are facing hints of condemnation of their lands and removal if they don't conform. They are being told that they should agree to the mining and "get something out of it" rather than to be moved away "and lose everything." The myth of the energy crisis and consumer demand adds weight to the threats.

Traditional leaders say it is not their fault that the United States had such lack of planning and foresight that they now lack energy, and that the Cheyennes have already contributed enough to the American way that it should not be asked to give up its last resources. They say that it is time for others to start making some sacrifices for their own unborn generations, and that these sacrifices will enable America to become mature in thought and decisions, and thus strong as a people.

The Cheyennes know what America seems not to know: that vast as the coal resources are, they are finite and within our lifetimes will be exhausted. Exploiting the coal, they say, only defers, to the disadvantage of us all, the real problems of the "energy crisis."

"Don't make the mistake of lumping us and the land together as 'over-burden' and dispense with us as nuisances. Land is historically the central issue in any war. We are the descendants, spiritually, if not actually, of those who fought for this land once and we are prepared to do it again." That statement comes not from a native person, but from a Montana ranch mother of three little girls, Mrs. Carolyn Alderson, at an energy symposium in Wyoming a year ago. Maybe this time, the pioneers will be fighting for the Indians, instead of against them.





European-thinking people in the U.S. and elsewhere think their "energy crisis" means a shortage of gas and oil. But our mother earth has had her own "energy crisis" for years now as others have destroyed her to rob resources belonging to future generations. Our mother has suffered enough — now maybe it's someone else's turn.

—photos by Terrence Moore

In its long list of charges against the BIA, the tribe said the bureau failed to make the required detailed studies that would have informed the Cheyennes of the tremendous impact that strip-mining would have upon their daily lives.

The coal companies, meanwhile, contend that their leases do not fall within the new environmental regulations that took effect in January, 1969. Their leases were negotiated in the 1960s for exploration, but said that if the companies found coal, the Cheyennes would be obliged to allow them to mine it, and to build whatever plants or towns they wished to do the job.

No coal has yet been strip-mined on the reservation, and the companies are anxious to begin operations before Congress sets minimum standards for land reclamation during and after strip-mining.

Peabody has disclaimed statements that it would decimate the Cheyenne reservation, saying that it would only mine 7,380 acres in the next 30 years. However, Peabody is only one of several companies involved.

"Mining of 240 acres per year will disrupt the grazing of four to six head of livestock only," said W.G. Stockton, Peabody's vice president in charge of public relations in a telegram to the Montana State University where Russell Means had spoken about strip-mining to the student body. "In return for this disruption," Stockton said, "the tribe will receive in excess of \$3-million a year in royalties, and at least 150 members of the tribe will be employed as coal miners at an average wage of \$12,000 per year each." He said the mined land would be "totally reclaimed" once the coal was removed.

There were moves in the Congress to curb environmental abuses of strip mining, but the sudden realization of the American people that earth resources ain't gonna last forever is undercutting those efforts. The National Coal Association, the industry's lobbying arm in Washington, says the industry must not be hampered by environmental concerns or there will be widespread power shortages, resulting in urban and industrial blackouts and unemployment. While native prophecy has long said these things would happen, lack of environmental awareness is likely to bring those days closer, rather than eliminate them.

Perhaps there is little hope for the Cheyennes. According to William O. Douglas, associate Supreme Court Justice, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people might better be expressed 'government of the corporations, by the corporations and for the corporations.'" And if you don't think so, then just spend a few years in Washington, D.C."

Douglas was speaking these words in October at St. Lawrence University in Canton, New York, as he listed big business as "the number one benefactor of due process of law in this country today."

"The truth is that a vast bureaucracy now controls the United States, irrespective of what party is in power," he said. "And a great restructuring of our society is needed if remedies are to become available to the average person. Without that restructuring, the good will that holds society together will slowly be dissipated."

Thus, as the Cheyennes point out, how they fare in their battle can determine whether the American people will or will not be treated like Indians.

The energy crisis may cause non-Indians to seek a life-style similar to that of Indians, according to Vine Deloria, Jr., at Nebraska's Chadron State College Dec. 14.

"In 1973 it is no longer possible for non-Indians to believe in progress," Deloria said. "After over-consumption, over-population, and over-complications of life, you will have to turn to the Indian way of looking at things. Your way of life has gone about as far as it can and give you meaning. The present time is the first time in the West that Indians and non-Indians can get together and know each other in a very good way. In the past, the non-Indian rushed by the Indian so fast that if the Indian didn't act like a

non-Indian, he was immediately pushed aside and couldn't contribute."

Persons expecting the U.S. Government to look after what native people call "life supporters" and what Europeans call "environment" will be disappointed. "I'm going to have to propose some things that will drive the environmentalists up the wall," U.S. President Richard Nixon told a group of governors Dec. 21. "They're halfway [up the wall] already. How are we going to get the coal out of the ground without driving them out of their trees?"

Nixon said that "jobs" and "fuel" came ahead of environmental considerations.

(Thanks to Coyote, Ben A. Franklin's special report to the New York Times, to Michael Kiernan of the Washington Star-News, and to Montana friends for this report.)

Information, resources, and financial assistance can be sent to:

Cheyennes Against Strip Mining  
POBox 83  
Lame Deer, Montana 59043



—Terrence Moore photo

This shovel at Decker Mine near the Cheyenne Reservation is already at work. It's just a beginning.



(This commentary is by Richard H. Lundstrom, who is on the faculty of Campion Jesuit Residential High School for Boys in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Recognizing the need for the Christian Churches to cease participating in the oppression of native peoples, AKWESASNE NOTES is pleased to be the forum for dialogue within the Christian community. Lundstrom's views have application throughout the various denominations, Protestant and Catholic — none can gain any satisfaction that the Jesuits are singled out in this letter.)

## AN OPEN LETTER TO A JESUIT MISSIONARY TO THE OGLALA SIOUX

Rev. Theodore F. Zuern, S.J.  
Holy Rosary Mission  
Pine Ridge, South Dakota 57770

Dear Father Zuern:

I have just read in the autumn issue of *The Jesuit* your article on the Oglala Sioux, the theme of which is that "hope for the future (of the Indian) is very bright." Since you have made bold to speak in this manner of Indians and Jesuits and an abundance of hope, I trust it will be no more bold for me to speak of Jesuits and whites and a death of hope.

I do so because of my conviction that the Jesuits represent a strong instrumentality that may be placed between the Indian People and their destruction. For, as members of the Church, the Jesuits are part of the only organization which can stand independent of this nation's economic and political structures; which can condemn and oppose such of their plans and practices as are tearing to tatters the basic fabric of Indian life. No organization whose existence depends on subservience to this alliance between government and business can or will resist it. Nor will sufficient numbers of individuals because of reasonable doubts about the acceptability or efficacy of martyrdom.

Such resistance, however, is the *unum necessarium* for those whose professed mission it is to bring Christ to the Indians — yet I do not see the Jesuits doing this necessary thing. Nor do I see any clear indication that the Jesuits even recognize its necessity.

Instead, I see the Jesuits assisting the Sioux people in their death agony as ministers of a kind of cultural Extreme Unction [Last Rites], apparently and perhaps a bit presumptuously supposing that such a policy is God's will. I see a Church aligned with, or at least, complicit with, those who are inflicting this agony on the Sioux. I see God's ministers so enamored of the dubious ideal of white American political, economic, and military supremacy, with its consequent cultural arrogance and racism and paternalism, that they approve and even promote the destruction of the Indian people rather than their salvation.

I speak as one who has known the deep dedication of so many Jesuits and whose only personal plea to God is for mercy. Yet I see all these things. It would be consoling to think that they are peripheral, yet I feel obliged to question whether the destruction of the Sioux people is not of the essence of the Church's — and the Jesuits' — work among them.

Certainly such destruction could not be a conscious policy, at least not of the Jesuits as a group. (If an individual Jesuit should knowingly espouse it, he can be of little use to God or man on a reservation and might be assigned as chaplain to the Chicago Bears who get paid for being destroyed every week or so.)

But presuming the pre-eminent importance of survival — something the Popes, the World Synod of Bishops, and the Jesuit general, Fr. Arrupe, among many others, have recently stressed — there remains the problem of discovering whether the Jesuits are promoting or preventing survival. A few questions concerning the various agencies with whom the Indians must deal might help close in on an answer.

# "For If The Indian Peoples Die, Who Among Us Deserve To Live?"

### The Government?

1) Is the government interested in the survival of the Indians? History makes the question laughable. The long unrelenting uprooting and destruction of so many Indian tribes, the incarceration of survivors, the countless repeated thefts of lands eternally guaranteed by law to these survivors in some four hundred treaties, the government's incredible cruelty and neglect — such history must be known to all by now.

Current governmental procedures are no different — it's just that the depredations have become a little more subtle. The United States no longer sends the army to kill Indians, to drive them from their land, to imprison them. (Not that it wouldn't, if necessary.) But the process is no less deadly. The government still takes enormous quantities of Indian land, still against the will of the Indian tribes. Without his land base, there inevitably follow for the Indian dispersal and extinction. How many examples do we need?

### The Economic System?

2) Is the economic system of the United States concerned with the survival of the Indians? Again, considering both history and contemporary activity and the inevitable collusion between government and powerful economic interests, the question would be a joke were its answer not so desperately tragic.

All people with sincere concern for Indians must know what is happening to the Hopi at Black Mesa in Arizona — how Peabody Coal Company (a subsidiary of Kennecott Copper of Chilean notoriety) is stripping Hopi land against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Hopi themselves; how the same thing is happening to the Crow and Northern Cheyenne in Montana; how similar ravages have come to the Tesuque Pueblo, to the Agua Caliente, to other California Tribes, to the Pit River Indians, to the Paiutes and the Grande Rondes. These tribes and others either have been or are being shattered by assaults of corporate con-

glomerates engineered by their surrogates, the Congressional Interior Committees and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

There's nothing particularly new in these arrangements. Whenever powerful economic interests have wanted something the Indians had, the government has exacted it from the Indians at any price necessary — even if that price was the Indians' destruction. There is no need to belabor the point. There is wealth in Indian land. Corporations and conglomerates will have it. Let the Indians die.

### The Church?

Is the Church really interested in the survival of the Indians? There are strong reasons to believe that the answer is "no."

For example, historically, Red Cloud and Spotted Tail commissioned the Jesuits to teach their people the white man's ways. Historically, the Jesuits have subverted this commission — they have tried to make the Indians white, thus destroying them.

The Sioux language, religion, traditions — the whole cultural riches of these Teton people — have been largely debauched. Individual Indians have been taught to hate themselves, their people, their ancestors, their history, their religion. The spiritual agony resulting from the reality of an Indian heritage and the artificiality of a forced psychological bleaching have raised Indian people up on a cross alongside Christ.

At long last, some mission schools now recognize, to an extent, some of the values intrinsic to this Indian heritage and may even encourage white teachers to study it. But studying Indian language, taking sweat baths, attending traditional religious ceremonies may only reinforce white racism if one comes to these activities with an attitude of cultural superiority and arrogance.

The whole process could be much like subjecting a Chile-bound CIA agent to the study of Spanish and Andean

culture so he may familiarize himself with his prey; or like exposing a Christian minister to an Indian religion so that he may contrast it unfavorably with his own.

For another example: to solicit funds from whites through appeals which perpetuate white racism, which are based upon erroneous expressions of history and current events, which deny or soothe white responsibility for the plight of the Indian people, may bring in enough money to save a given mission and its schools and churches. But they will never save the Indian people.

Moreover, to make these appeals to the vested interests and corporate conglomerates which derive profit from exploiting Indian land and resources is simply formal cooperation with those who are destroying the Indians. It is also hypocrisy and deception.

A third example: to use such funds to maintain control over any aspect of Indian life is to deny them their most basic right and the most basic requirement of survival — self-determination. It is also to deny the basic meaning of Christ's presence among us — liberation.

A final example: to stand warm, secure and unmoved amidst the carnage — the maimed bodies, the tortured minds, the crushed spirits, the broken homes, the diseased children, the too-soon dead — is to be a contributor to the problem. And the problem is that we are systematically destroying the Indian people.

At best, one can only say that there is no clear correlation between the Church's work and the survival of the Indians.

### The Tiresome Arguments

One hears many arguments, old and tiresome, to justify this nation's political, economic and religious relationships with the Indian people. These arguments apparently do much to console those who use them; they also do much to hasten the Indians' final destruction.

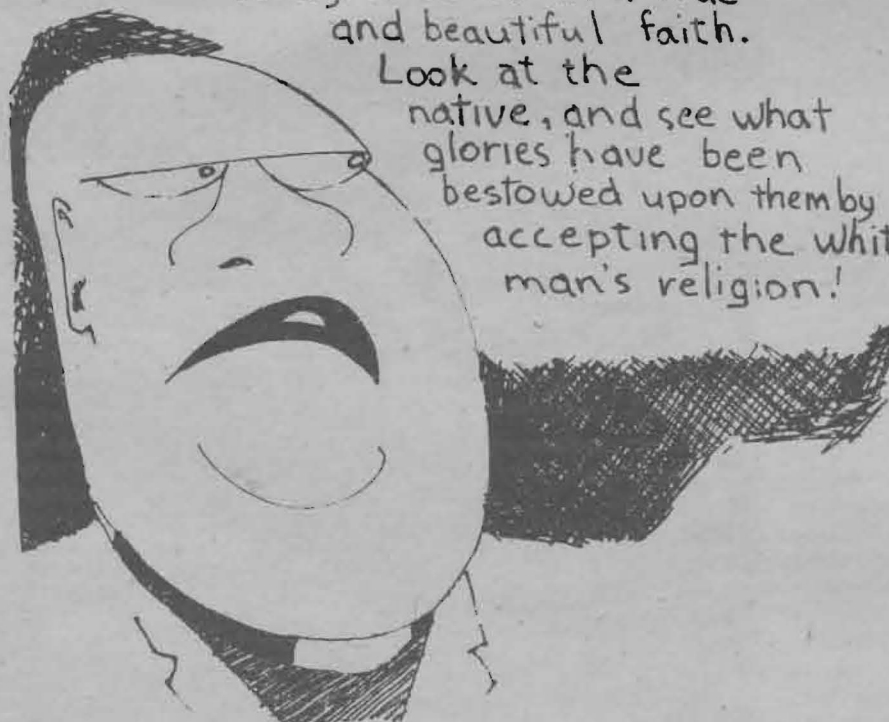
One of the oldest and most tiresome of these, but one which constantly crops up in articles and brochures from missionaries and missions, is "the Indians unfortunately came into conflict with a more powerful alien culture" — which is about the way Hitler put it to the Jews. There is the ancient objection that "the Indians were savages, that this savagery still lurks beneath a thin veneer of 'civilization'" — and this from the most destructive people in human history, who even while they said it were busily engaged in working genocide against these same Indians.

One hears that "the Indians did not occupy this land" which — besides being a lie — would now open up vast portions of the United States to colonization by nations like India and Japan. It is said that the Indians developed nothing, which is to ignore the fact that half the food eaten and half the clothing worn by all of mankind come from crops developed by the Indians, and which is to ignore the fact that our concept of individual freedom, perhaps our most sacred spiritual possession, is something the white European never conceived but learned from the Indian he despised and destroyed.

It is said, in order to deny the harshness of Indian life, that his birth rate is soaring — which is to forget the great "natural" increase of black slave populations during the long years of their enforced servitude. One hears that the Indians "must now give up their resources because of the greater needs of others" — as if others could have greater needs than the most impoverished people in the land; as if the lust for more and more luxuries, for more and more energy sources, constitute real need; as if the same argument has not always been used to destroy Indian tribes.

More recently, one hears that the Jesuit presence on the reservation is to be justified as "a force of reconciliation between differing Indian factions." One could overlook, it seems, the not-very-latent paternalism behind such a stance

If nobody believes in a true and beautiful faith. Look at the native, and see what glories have been bestowed upon them by accepting the white man's religion!



— New Breed



which effectively denies that Indians can solve their own problems. But one cannot overlook such an eloquent expression of ignorance of the nature of the real problem — the non-Indian problem — which is that this whole white/European political and economic structure is oppressing the Indian people and destroying them.

This is the structure out of which the Church has come, and with which the Church still stands. And this is the structure which the Church must separate itself from and condemn if it is to carry out the mission of its God.

There are many other similar arguments. It is probably best simply to ignore them. They are not sincere efforts to discover truth. They merely serve to conceal or justify genocide.

There are still other reasons to question the salvific nature of the Church's work.

Once, in 1890, at a place called Wounded Knee, one Father Kraft was stabbed by a Sioux Indian. Accounts, by white apologists, exist explaining that the desperate Minneconjou did not realize he was attacking a priest. There is a metaphor here that illuminates a great truth known to God and to the Indians, but not to the Church: the priest was indistinguishable from those who were massacring the Indians.

Again at Wounded Knee, on a July night in 1971, to quote a letter circulated by the Christian churches at the time, "The Catholic Church dedicated to Jesus the Son of God under his Indian name of Chante Wakan (Sacred Heart), had red paint splashed on its glistening white front." The same letter goes on to cast blame for this and other "acts of vandalism" against all the other Christian churches at Wounded Knee upon some "irresponsible and uncontrollable vandals" whom it compares, sacrilegiously, to the 7th Cavalry. Apparently, the red paint on the white churches meant no more than vandalism to the Church. The same bright metaphors remained unheeded.

Now we have Wounded Knee, 1973. And the Church issues ultimate platitudes about approving the objectives of the American Indian Movement (AIM) while decrying its violence — oblivious to the fact that more violence against Indian people can occur, and does occur, in a single day in one of its schools than would ever occur in a dozen Wounded Knees.

It blames the "difficulty" on intra-tribal disputes between "progressives" and "traditionalists" or between "full-bloods" and "mixed-bloods" apparently unaware that such factions are white in origin and sustenance.

The Church expounds wisely on difficulties arising between tribal chairmen and councils and the traditional chiefs, apparently ignorant of the fact that such tribal government is a federal creation and cannot but cooperate with BIA-sponsored rigoffs of Indian lands and resources despite any personal commitment a tribal chairman or councilman may have to his people.

It re-echoes the lie first mouthed by minions of Harrison Loesch, the erstwhile BIA bureaucrat, to drive a wedge between the Indian occupants of the BIA building in Washington and their tribes: "They are city Indians," the lie goes. "They have no reservation base." It ignores the fact that similar lies about Sitting Bull were concocted by the Government to alienate his people from him.

The Church expresses outrage at a physical attack on a Christian missionary in 1973 (forgetting, refusing to understand the repeated metaphor), but stands dumb before the savage violence routinely worked against the Sioux Indians and so vividly reported by every index of social decay.

#### The Church's Dim Vision

With dim vision, the Church preaches against the "sins" of individual Indians who explode under the pressure of such violence, who seek the anodynes of drink or drugs, who withdraw into indolence or desertion or

despair. With marvelous myopia, it praises those who rise to "Christian" sanctity as if one could justify the squalor of reservations because they breed saints. And somehow, all these things are passed off as "Christian".

Nonetheless, a Catholic missionary can report to us that "probably at no time has there been more hope for the future of the American Indian than today." It might be relevant to suggest that there was infinite hope for the Indians as long as Columbus stayed back home in Genoa. But he did make his tragic voyages and now the white Europeans have been here for nigh onto 500 years, wreaking havoc among the native Americans.



To phrase it gently, the basis for the missionary's optimism is not exactly self-evident. Perhaps his hope is inspired by such generalities as God's providence and life itself; but these same generalities have accompanied countless tribes to their extinction. Whence comes such hope?

Certainly not from the government. This government works by expediency, not by principle or law. It has often been expedient in the past for an Indian tribe to die and the tribe has died, law or no law. It is now expedient for other tribes to die, and die they will, law or no law. Each tribe will, in due course, have its turn, just as each extinct tribe had its. Tecumseh realized this two-hundred years ago.

There is no hope from the economic structures. These have allegiance to neither God nor man, but only to profit. When this profit must come from Indian land, come from Indian land it will. Let the tribes die if they must. The procedure is simplicity itself. These profit-seekers have the political clout to control the activities of governmental agencies. They bring lobbying pressure to bear on the Congressional Interior Committees or on the Department of Interior. These agencies relay the pressure to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The BIA then wrings from the tribe consent to its own destruction by deception, by fraud, by law, by any means necessary.

Such lobbying pressure is exerted by civilized entities like Standard Oil, Alcoa Aluminum, Shell Oil, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, Dow Chemical, and by the prime analogue of all such, David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan empire. These creatures are incarnate appetites, driven to profit as sharks to blood.

What hope may come from non-Indians — and let us admit that it is still microscopic — lies in the goodness of individual people and in the only or-

ganization of people that can stand independent of the forces that are destroying the Indians — the Church. These forces are Mammon and by its very nature, the Church should be set against them.

But it isn't. Not enough. Not yet. Let the Hopis give witness: even as the giant drag lines gouge out the vitals of their sacred land, they still fear Christianity more than Peabody Coal. Nonetheless, the Church is the only society that can muster the moral strength necessary for a successful attack. And here, perhaps, is hope.

The line of attack is clear. It must go against profit. The profits demanded by this political/economic system come from satisfying the natural or artificially-created desires of human beings reduced to consumers. Convince a consumer that he wants something, get him used to enjoying it, manipulate him to the point where he demands it, and he will tolerate, encourage, even insist on, any tactic the supplier must resort to in order to supply the demand. Let the supply be acquired by normal production or trade where possible, by economic extortion or military intervention where necessary.

And so, as a nation, we loot the land and impoverish or destroy the peoples of Southeast Asia, Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Near East. And so do we treat native American tribes and their land. These consumers may still feel human emotions of pity for the plight of those whose poverty and shortened lives support their wealth. They may occasionally send CARE packages abroad or donate to an Indian mission.

Yet when the chips are down, when the supply is threatened, they will opt for death and destruction.

Thus a consumer may decry what Peabody is doing to the Hopi. But when it is explained to him that Hopi coal generates electricity, that if Peabody stops its stripping, he will have no juice to operate his TV or drive his stereo speakers — then suddenly the destruction of the Hopi land and culture becomes an acceptable sacrifice. The consumer may object to the stripping of Northern Cheyenne land with its daily heist of 5,000 tons of coal that disappear to the east and south over Burlington Northern tracks. Yet he is given pause when he learns that the coal is used to smelt iron from ore down south of Chicago, that without this metal Detroit will make him no cars. He must walk. Suddenly, Northern Cheyenne become an acceptable sacrifice.

Honest wolves, like Kent Frizzell, the Interior Department solicitor, put it bluntly: "America needs the Indians' coal." Dishonest ones talk about progress, democracy, freedom, Christianity, and things like that.

The Church's mission, obviously, is to turn these consumers back into human beings. Our monstrous appetites must be stilled. We must be willing to come down off our stratospheric standard of living. Nothing within the present political/economic system supplies an adequate motive for doing so — unless it be the obvious, though temporary deterrent of the nuclear warheads of another rapacious nation.

Some men can find strength in strong humanitarian motives or in the fear of imminent ecological disaster. But most of us need God's Fatherhood, an awareness of brotherhood; we need Christ as God-with-us and the companionship of God's people struggling to do God's will — to love one another as He has loved us.

This is the real Church. And in this Church, no man would live by his brother's death. And the Indians can remind this Church of something the Indians have never forgotten — that man is merely a creature and must live in peace and harmony with other creatures; that whether God be transcendent or imminent in relation to His Creation, man holds no license for Creation's wanton disruption. This Indian world-view will help save us, which, incidentally, is one of the things Vine Deloria, Jr., has been trying to tell us. Here is hope.

Yet we cannot stand idle while the Church seeks to transform itself and its members. We must imperfectly struggle against the monster, at least in a tactical sense, in its concrete manifestations. And so, in the hope of helping non-Indians and Jesuits, of retarding, at least, the destruction of the Sioux People, I'm going to be presumptuous enough to make a few suggestions:

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1. That Jesuits working with Indian people have a solid foundation in the culture and history of the people they propose to serve; that they have a deep understanding of their own culture and history, especially as these have had their devastating impact on Indian tribes.

2. That Jesuits have a thorough understanding of racism, and of one's personal involvement in it, especially as racism is understood in its institutional sense.

3. That each Jesuit have a thorough understanding of this nation's political/economic institutions; such an understanding would include a clear critique of the profit motive, competition, consumerism, and the evaluation of a man's worth deriving from his wealth rather than from his personal integrity and commitment to his fellow men.

4. That the Jesuits, without further delay, return to the tribe any Indian land or affairs still under Jesuit control.

5. That Jesuits, some at least, know thoroughly the specifics of on-going attempts to deprive Indian tribes of their land and resources. This knowledge would include an understanding of the governmental and economic structures and the processes and persons involved.

6. That the Jesuits constantly communicate such information to Indians and non-Indians so that the necessary moral and political opposition may be massed.

7. That the Jesuits working with Indians enlist the help and support of other schools, pulpits, publications, etc., in disseminating such information; and enlist the professional competencies of the staffs of Jesuit and other schools to provide the Indian people with requested training and support.

8. That sums equal to those now begged for the Indian missions be begged for the purpose of the conscientization of non-Indians.

9. That the Jesuits align themselves with the Indians, living no better than the Indians and unequivocally condemning the structures attacking the Indians.

10. That the Jesuits support the Indian people in their struggle to gain control of their own lives; that they support Indian terms for Indian survival, like those expressed in the "Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties."

The Jesuits could be the strongest non-Indian source of hope. It's not that they are supermen or anything like that. It's just that they have been living with the Indians for some four centuries now. And living with God's people for that long a time cannot but have supplied the courage and conviction and charisma we need.

When all else is said and done, the greatest hope for the Indians is their own determination not to die. That may even save us, and the Jesuits may yet be the messengers of that salvation.

For if the Indian peoples die, who among us shall deserve to live?

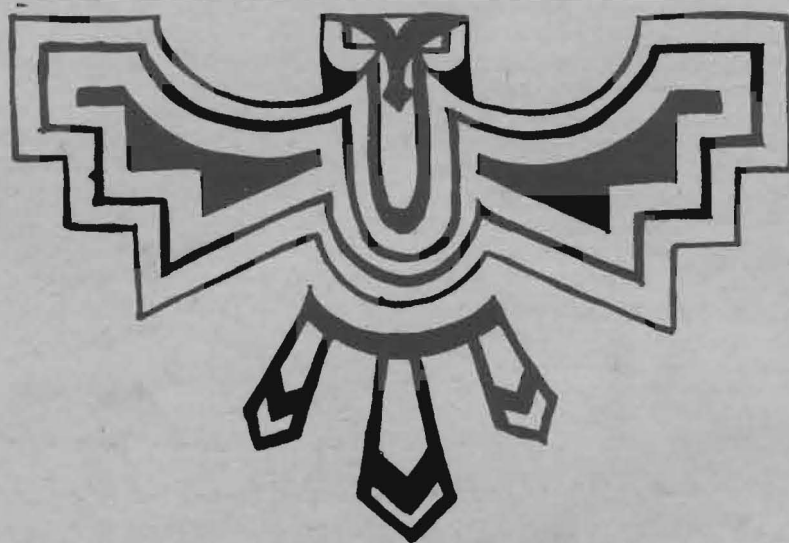
Richard H. Lundstrom  
October 20, 1973

(Reprints of this article are available in pamphlet form — we hope it is widely used as the basis for dialogue on the role of Christian churches in the struggle for liberation of the natural world and natural peoples. The reprint is 25 cents each, postpaid, or \$1 for lots of 10. Write: Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.)



# The non-progressive Great Spirit

"TRADITIONALISM IN THE MODERN WORLD"



It might seem that the Old Ways cannot provide means for spiritual survival in the viciously disharmonious white world. It might seem that the Old Ways have little defense against an attack in ways alien to the "natural world". Most of us seem to regard white cultural and spiritual assault as a diluting or polluting or weakening force — we seem to think that we must protect the Old Ways, rather than allowing the Old Ways to protect us.

It is true that the Old Ways were given us in a time which our ancestors could not have imagined. Yet, when totally trusted, the Old Ways make us invulnerable. Through them, we may not only survive in the white world, but understand it better than do the whites. We must not only develop the application of the Old Ways to the "modern world", but also understand the modern world in the context of the Old Ways.

You know, we open ourselves like the air, and the world flows through us like the wind. The world is part of us as the wind is part of the air. We have no boundaries — we are all we experience, know, feel — all of which interacts with everything, making us of the entire earth. We need not seek to determine our form, but we can allow it to be determined by the particular rhythm of tribal consciousness which creates our perception — creates us.

As our bodies do not grow and unfold from choice and decision, neither do our minds. Disharmonious and destructive acts arise automatically from disharmonious conditions. Through the old ways, we are in harmony with all circumstances — the correct and harmonious course of action is always to be found in us if we are in touch with ourselves.

All of existence flows through us, and so we know the sacredness of all being. It is knowledge that cannot be articulated — that is what we are. It is sacredness that cannot be grasped or defined, absolute in itself, with no meaning beyond itself.

Everything is at the center of the universe. You are the center, the focus of the Earth who flows through you physically as well as spiritually: the air, the water, the living beings who feed you, unite in your existence. Everything is defined in relation to you.

The moon is itself in its own center, as are the pine, the rock, the elk, the thunder. They are not one another, or even another of the same kind. One pine has its own sacred patterns of needles, branches, bark. The sun, the water, the soil, the wind make the shape of all the pines. But the form of each pine is defined by neither its similarity to, nor its difference from, other pines. It is absolute. It is not a thing, but a process — like us.

The Great Spirit is neither inside nor outside us. The Old Ways are neither externally imposed, nor internally created, but are a particular tribal rhythm which keeps us of the flowing circles of life. Like the air moving from the wind one who follows the Old Ways has great power which he or she does not contain or originate.

Non-native Americans — as spiritually disharmonious as most of them are — also can only act within the laws of the Great Spirit. Even to pave our Mother or to make their buildings, they must adhere to the "laws of nature" in a certain manner — if they follow them in another manner, their buildings will follow these "laws" by falling.

No one can depart from the Great Spirit, but if one acts without reverence and awareness, one becomes a spiritual (and perhaps physical) casualty of the disharmony created — as walking off a high cliff does not violate the Way but may lead to death.

Most non-native Americans are caught up in processes they don't understand, cannot accommodate to, and which are destroying them spiritually and physically. They refuse to realize that it is only illusion to try to control what totally contains them. And, as members of our species, they serve to warn us that we are potentially like them.

Our entire existence is of reverence. Our rituals renew the sacred harmony within us. Our every act — eating, sleeping, breathing, making love — is a ceremony reaffirming our dependence on Mother Earth and our kinship with her every child. Unlike Christians, who dichotomize the spiritual and the physical, put religion in its compartment, and call the physical world evil and a mere preparation for a world to come, we recognize the "spiritual" and the "physical" as one — without Westerners' dichotomies between God and humankind, God and nature, nature and humankind, we are close and intimate and warm with Mother Earth and the Great Spirit. Unlike Christian belief, which claims that our species is both inherently evil and the divinely ordained ruler of Earth, we know that, being of our sacred Mother Earth, we are sacred.

To walk in the Old Ways is to live in the sacred manner, to stand upright, to walk straight, to respect our brothers and sisters of different Nations and different species. It is to open ourselves like air, like sky, in order to know the mountains, the waters, the wind, the lights of the sky, the plants, and the four-legged, six-legged, no-legged, and winged beings. It is to kill in the sacred manner, to know pain in the sacred manner, to know love, sorrow, anger, joy in the sacred manner, and to die in the sacred manner.

All that is given us of the Great Spirit is sacred — life, death, the wish to avoid death and the wish to receive it, pain, hunger, anger, growth. To live in harmony with the Earth and all life, one

does not use Western value judgments — isolating what might be labeled "good" (such as life, love, or pleasantness) and avoiding the "bad" or harsh (darkness, anger, discomfort, pain or death). To be in harmony with the death of a loved one, for example, is to know grief — not to suppress, deny, or escape from it, but to flow with it, grow with it, plunge into it, celebrate it.

The ways of each Nation provide channels for the "negative" so that one may constantly maintain balance and harmony. "It is a good day to die!" cried the Lakota in battle — to die at the height of life, to transcend conflict, to offer one's self up in a sort of ritual self-immolation, to unite life and death in an exquisite purity. As in the liberation and revelation of the self-torture of the Sun Dance, ecstasy is the explosive coming together of life and death, of pain and pleasure.

Death is part of all life, and all life is born of death. We kill in the sacred manner and die in the sacred manner. The animals and plants we kill to live are killed with reverence, respect, gratitude, and love — and with the knowledge that we repay them with our own bodies. Our bodies are not "ours" but of Mother Earth; she permits us to live thru her other children; she continuously passes through us as we receive her children into our bodies and give to them of our bodies. Upon our death, our bodies return to our Mother and her children, who lent us life; and our minds merge into the flow, like a wave returning to the body of a river. All living beings are part of one another because we are not separated beings, but processes, or steps in a process. There is no death — only transformation.

Much difference between Western and tribal values can be traced to time perception. Western time perception is linear and progressive — you move along

a line, with the past behind and the future ahead, and hopefully you're progressing, advancing. ("You're six years old — stop acting like a two-year old!") ("Took us a million years to crawl out of the muck and now we've made it to the moon.") Each point in time is defined as a stage in relation to the others — usually ahead of the previous points, but not as good as what's coming up.

This time progression causes most non-native Americans to depart from the non-progressive Great Spirit and Mother Earth. It shows in the way their adults rationalize tyranny over their children (and remember, they call us "children" as a euphemism for "savages"), in the blind and frantic way they live their lives, in the way they persecute "inferior" species — and in the way they are trying to destroy tribal peoples.

The word "primitive" from a root meaning "first" signifies an "early stage" (as opposed to an "advanced" stage). Thus a tribal people is defined in relation to what Westerners think it should ultimately become — but it needs help, they sigh, chafing in impatience at the slowness of these backward creatures to accept necessary progress.

Despite references to "primitive" social and economic structures, the West defines "primitive" and "advanced" in terms of technology. And the use of "primitive" interchangeably with "tribal" creates the implicit assumption that as technology becomes more complex, tribal forms will die. With the West using that premise to rationalize colonial exploitation and cultural imperialism, that has become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Our time perception is spherical — there is no past or future, for they are one with the present. Each point in time is itself — the unique interaction of infinite happenings since the beginning of time — with infinite consequences. As every spacial point is the center of the universe, so is every point in time the center of time — the unique and precious instant the Earth has been preparing for since her beginning.

Nothing progresses, advances, or improves. Everything contains all it has been and will be. A tree three feet tall is neither superior nor inferior to one thirty feet tall. It is never superior or inferior to what it has been or will be. It must always be in harmony with itself. If the Europeans had first come upon us in a few hundred more millennia, they would have found more complex technology among us than they did — but we would not have been superior to what we were.

Technology is a very superficial form of growth. A tribal people, among whom the spiritual is the first consideration, constantly tests everything new and old against its spiritual and social harmony; at its own pace it absorbs into and discards from its spiritual rhythm.

All of this is NOT our cultures. This is the ground from which our cultures grow. We do not originate our Nations — nor are they given from outside us. They are shaped from the raw form of our ecstasy, which is to say, they are of the Great Spirit.

To be conscious of being is awesome and holy. Our consciousness reflects upon itself: we are given words. The word must be treated with respect, or its power may be uncontrolled and work for harm. Lying was unthinkable in the Old Ways, for to abuse words is to endanger the Nation. People who have no respect for words allow words to create worlds for them, and then move into those worlds permanently. This is how most non-native Americans manage to pretend that their species is the world and everything else subordinate



"I'm sorry, my son, but I'm afraid we WASPs have no tribal wisdom to pass on."

— The New Yorker



and unimportant. The word does not contain the existence of what it refers to — the word is like a glass which focuses. I point it to something and you look through it to see what I am pointing to.

But the scope of the word is limited, and so the song is given to us, born like a wave flowing through us, individually, or collectively, in a precious moment of unified consciousness. Through the song we resonate with the pulse of the earth. The song is forever but like a flat surface — so the ceremony is given us, given of the sacredness that surrounds us, extending forever on all sides. Through the ceremony, the sacredness is given shape. But the ceremony is not forever in time — for that we are given our individual consciousness, through which we experience and feel and know — and as individuals, we are of all earth and all time.

No matter how many milleniums old a Nation is, it is new, being created, growing. Language, myth, legend, song, ceremony, art are at once manifestations of tribal consciousness and instruments of its creation. In our myths and legends, the distinction between physical and spiritual history is not made because it is irrelevant.

If we create myths or traditions that, say, attribute life to a river, and act and feel accordingly, we are not going contrary to reality. It is as carving the form of a deer from a piece of wood is not imposing upon the wood an alien form — the interaction of the carver with the special characteristics of the wood produces a life that exists within mind — and is, indeed, real. No matter how "realistically" something may be viewed, the image exists only within the viewer — which makes it no less real and true! (Westerners strain to see things "realistically" and therefore confuse their perceptions with reality. Since, therefore, there is so little they see and less they understand, they managed to create the ridiculous concept of the "supernatural" — literally, above nature — and then had the temerity to apply that word to the religions of tribal peoples, who know that nature encompasses everything.)

By opening ourselves, surrendering ourselves, we may know the reality, or spirits, of many things — "the real world behind this one, and everything we see here, is like a shadow from that world," in Black Elk's words. As we bring ourselves in resonance with these spirits, align our own centers with them, they may talk to us, teach us, guide us, protect us, help us, and endow us with The Power as it is manifested in them.

A thing of power is given its power thru our recognition in it of the Power that flows through everything — it is given its holy power through the power of our consciousness, which is not ours, but of the Great Spirit. This is why none of our Nations has ever tried to impose its religion on another Nation, and why we have always respected variation of thought; we are too religious to think that religion can be externally imposed, or to confuse the symbols, rituals, and rules with the spiritual knowledge itself.

Our worlds are wonder and magic because we create them. A tribal culture is close to its people, meaning that it grows in harmony with them, absorbing what they feel to be in spiritual harmony with themselves. The richer the culture — the myths, songs, ceremonies, customs, etc. — the more life and consciousness is created, and the more joy and immersion in existence.

In this sense, Anglo-Americans have almost no culture. Their ideal of "rugged individualism" makes cultural molding seem to them to be in opposition to individual autonomy, or a form of brainwashing, or a symptom of weakness. So they simply ignore the ways they are molded, and consequently confuse their own standards, mores, myths, and customs with absolutes.

The main reason that there is so little anti-social behavior in a tribal society, and why a tribal society functions

without [repressive] government, is that anti-social behavior would threaten the fragile circle-bond that is the Nation — and since the Nation is its collective consciousness, and the consciousness is the individual, to threaten the unity of the Nation would put one's own existence into unimaginable jeopardy.

A tribal individual cannot exist apart from her or his tribespeople. If the Nation is shattered, the universe collapses. It is a tragedy beyond the comprehension even of those who experience it, and beyond description in English — which has no word for what is destroyed. The invaders cannot understand what they have been doing, for they have nothing comparable to what we stand to lose. So they blithely make their vicious remarks that our assimilation is inevitable or our cultures dying.



The dissolution of tribal identity into a single mush of "Indianness", as seems to be happening in the cities, is a trap. It is how the invaders can destroy our cultures even as we cling to our "Indian" identities. We know we need not relinquish individuality for tribal unity — neither must we sacrifice tribalism for intertribal solidarity. A bird cannot be simply a "bird" without being of a specific species — so "Indianness" consists of being of a specific culture.

Our union with Mother Earth and the Great Spirit, which binds us together, is NOT our culture. It is an absolute. For this reason, among individuals united with The Power — spiritual leaders, prophets, medicine men and women — tribal differences are irrelevant. Any culture (in the sense that tribal peoples know it) must be built upon this basic spiritual knowledge to have cohesion and continuity.

But the knowledge is not enough. Other peoples who had it have long since shed their tribalism, and cruel and socially oppressive forms developed. It is when we lose our tribalism that our social bonds are the first to go.

It is our own tribal cultures that give us the tools to use the knowledge, and the means to gain The Power. Our power will be lost if we lose our tribal bonds, for it must flow through us and flow through all the people and be shared throughout the Nation — only this way can we be linked to the Power throughout the Earth.

The sophisticated Westerners see us as children. They believe that now having seen the harsh reality of modern civilization, we have lost our innocence, like a little white child just told there's no Santa Claus. Now, see? — in the bright light of science there are no spirits, no magic. They think that like the disillusioned child, we can't return to the old magic world.

My People — we draw upon the Power through the power of our own consciousness — we give something power by recognizing its power. If we become ashamed in the light of Western "rationality" and lose the power of our own spirit and minds, our religions will be a bunch of quaint, pretty superstitions. And we will not survive, but be caught up in the whites' mainstream and die with them.

We are of the whole Earth, spiritually plugged in to her every process — we hear her every cry. If we lose our ability to hear, we cannot flow in harmony with her, and we will vanish with the invaders when she resolves this dissonance with a great convulsive shudder. If we shrink in fear of whiteness, we will indeed shrink and be swept away along with them — because we have been retreating from the Earth and the Way of life.

So long as we retain our tribal consciousness as a structure, everything the whites teach us about their "science" can only increase our Power and our union with Mother Earth.

What we are now enduring demands far greater spiritual participation than ever before. It is painful. We hear our Mother's screams of sorrow for exterminated species and her shrieks of agony as her heart is torn by strip-mining. Our ordeal is not just ours, but of our Mother and all her children, including the white two-leggeds, and what is now demanded is not inter-tribal but interspecies solidarity. We cannot protect the Old Ways by cringing and huddling and retreating into our Indianness. The Old Ways cannot even be delineated — the outward forms of our religion are merely instruments. The Old Ways are simply the means of total union with the Earth — and we cannot desert her now.

Our oppression is spiritual. To respond in harmony with our present physical conditions is to offer certain forms of physical resistance. We must reclaim our hearts, minds, and spirits, and to do that is to refuse to submit to the means of oppression — the material deprivation, the bureaucratic tyranny, the degradation, the theft of us from our Mother Earth.

But to rebuild the Nations takes much more than resisting those means. Only those people who remain true to the Old Ways — who understand that they are growth, and who understand that the "new ways" are also of the Great Spirit, and so are contained in the Old Ways — and who thus neither automatically accept nor fear the "new" ways — will survive as Nations.

Each of us must know our own Nation's language, myths, history, ceremonies and customs, for the life of the Nation. The old religions and tribal ways are the structures which enable us to absorb the new. It is of ourselves that we produce the prophets and spiritual leaders who will guide each Nation to fulfill its own path to these new circumstances.

My people — there is no "modern" world. There is not even a white world — there is the world of the Great Spirit and the world of Mother Earth. It is through the old sacred ways that we know this always, and only through these old ways can we survive as a people and as Nations.

My people — in the city I hear these voices. It is spoken not only by the rain, not only by the small cracks that break through the concrete. It is also spoken by the cracks in the cement that take the shape of winter trees, and by the rainbows on the puddles of oil on the street. I have spoken.

— Gayle High Pine



My people — there is no growth without pain; neither is their pain without growth! We do not hide from pain and death and life. Westerners turn their faces from it: they get meat in bloodless, sanitized packages; they try to prevent their bodies at death from being reclaimed by the Earth who owns them — they try to deny the sacredness of the life they take when they kill a mosquito.

It is because we do not hide from even the smallest cry of pain that we will survive. Our ancient conception of cowardice is not the limited physical cowardice defined by the West. It is to retreat from actual real life with all its conflict and risk and pain.



# SIX NATIONS INDIAN MUSEUM

Onchiota, New York — Ray Fadden greeted us with an empty bird cage.

The forest creature inside — a bird with a broken wing — had died during the night and he was hurrying across the road to the house to dispose of it. He seemed a little glum, but then Fadden, proprietor of Six Nations Indian Museum in the Adirondack Mountains is the sort of man who worries about sick birds.

"Animals are like little children," he said when he returned from his small animal hospital in the trees. "They need to be loved. I get a lot of them here because people know I like to take care of them. The game people bring animals and birds in that have been hurt or shot." When the ill heal, he puts them back in nature.

Nature is only at arm's length here in the woods north of Saranac, anyway. During the long harsh winters, snow buries practically everything in the Fadden compound, off Route 33. In the summer, bears play in his backyard and blue jays pester. On the way into the museum, a chipmunk ran up my leg.

The building is quiet, dusted by tree shadows. Our first glimpse of the inside is arresting, worthy of a double-take. Everything — walls, ceilings, floors, is in use. The effect is kaleidoscopic: baskets, bead work, false face masks, hats, necklaces, hockey sticks, cradle boards, graphs, paintings, drums, stuffed animal heads.

"This represents a lifetime of research and collecting," Fadden says, measuring his visitors' amazement. Some of what we see are originals, others are recreated by the proprietor and his Mohawk pupils. He taught for 24 years in Indian schools, mostly at the Mohawk reserve at Akwesasne, until he retired last year. He was also a youth counselor, emphasizing craft work.

The first experience here is visual — elaborate hand-lettered panels with small drawings of Indian history and lore. Fadden does some of this himself, the rest is done by past and present pupils. Most of the paintings are by his son, John (Kahonhes of the Turtle Clan) who lives nearby.

Both John and his father believe strongly that seeing is only part of the mission of their little institution in the woods. Feeling is the key, human involvement. In this sense, Six Nations Museum is an anti-museum.

John arrived with a Thermos of hot coffee, sent across the road by his mother. We sat down on wooden benches over the Iroquois Great Tree of Peace, painted on the floor. Fadden banged his pipe ashes into a butt can (also profusely decorated.)

The Faddens aren't much moved by museums that show Indians the way they show the ancients of Egypt, as static objects with labels.

"They take the humanity out of our culture," John says. "Most of these places you can't even get a good argument going." His father agrees: there's more to a museum than objects.

This probably is why every individual or group making the way to Onchiota (it takes a little doing) gets at least one of what the Faddens call "the messages" during a visit. The messages are three. The first two, dealing with a brief history of the Iroquois people (Holinon-sonni) and native peoples' contributions to modern white culture, are delivered in each of the museum's two main exhibit rooms. The third is more or less of a traditional harangue, which Fadden told me he gives only when provoked. Each reflects the well researched opinion that past teaching about Indians is highly suspect.

## RAY FADDEN RECEIVED SPECIAL HISTORY AWARD FOR KEEPING THE CONFEDERACY FIRES GOING STRONG

Nashville, Tennessee — Ray Fadden of the Six Nations Museum was given a certificate of commendation by the American Association for State and Local History here in November. He was cited for his lectures and publications fostering interest in the Iroquois Confederacy.

The history association is a non-profit educational agency dedicated to advancing knowledge of localized history.

Another certificate was awarded to Barbara Graymont for her Syracuse University book, *Iroquois in the American Revolution*.



Tehanitorens (Ray Fadden) and Friend

— photo by Arnold Hinton

"We started this museum as a place for our Indian children to learn about their own culture and to enlighten white people about Indian ways and history," he says. "I wanted to counter some of those horrible cowboy and Indian stuff you see on the Late Show."

Ray also created the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, a program similar to the Boy Scouts. The idea was to give them skills they could pass on to others as camp counselors. One earned feathers as a Boy Scout earns a merit badge. Participants had to do everything from climbing a mountain to reading a story aloud before a group from a beaded belt.

"This came right out of the woods," Fadden said, swinging his arm around the room. "I cut most of the lumber myself with a hand ax and a hand saw. Then I borrowed a horse and hauled it to the saw mill to be cut. We didn't have any money; we had to do it all ourselves."



The museum and its collections grew, and with them, Ray Fadden's reputation, among Indians and whites, as someone who wanted to tell it as it was, in a low-profile way, using a quiet voice. He took his lesson with him as teacher, lecturer, and pamphleteer.

Last May, recognition came with the seal of the province: Fadden and the museum received a New York state award "for creating an opportunity to experience the richness of authentic American Indian art and history." The presentation was made at the Whitney Museum in New York City by Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

For his part, Fadden remembers the big party some Mohawks who live in New York gave him after the Whitney program. That meant more than being up

there on that platform with Joseph Papp and the grandson of an oil baron.

The chipmunk leads a family from Canada into the Museum, and the Faddens prepare to talk and argue and answer questions, as is the custom. Fadden says he likes to give each visitor personal attention, even if it sometimes wears thin his vocal energies. Father and son spell each other for the messages, while Mrs. Fadden tends store and babysits for guests.

Fadden picks up a sapling branch and beckons visitors to the benches. He explained at the outset that he was going to "read" some of the beaded records of modern make which cover the walls. They tell Indian stories, he says. One, circling the room, is 75 feet long, the longest piece of beadwork in the world. It tells of the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Later, he speaks of the Tuscarora, exiles to New York from the South. "What happened to them happened to all Indians at the hands of the white man, eventually. When whites were hungry, the Indians gave them food and taught them their ways in order to survive. Then whites became numerous and bold and seized the land of the Tuscarora. They seized the Tuscarora and sold them into slavery..."

Later, for another group, Fadden picked up his forest pointer again and took us into another room, where he talked of how much Americans — and the world — owe to the natives of North and South America, and how little credit has been allowed them.

His voice, practiced in school-teacher ways, weaves through contributions — government, sports, medicine, women's rights, popcorn, maple sugar, chewing gum, sleeping bags — and how this lesson has failed to make an impression in white man's history texts.

(Thanks to Richard Case of the Syracuse, New York Herald-American, for his article. Ray Fadden, who is known to Mohawks of Akwesasne as Tehanitorens of the Wolf Clan, has his messages on tape which are distributed through this newspaper as listed in the resources pages of this issue. His museum is also suggested as a place for those who have items which should be displayed, or which should be treated with respect and sacredness, which the owners and custodians may wish to loan or donate to the Six Nations Museum. The address: Ray Fadden, Six Nations Museum, Onchiota, New York. Ray Fadden is also the grandfather to this newspaper, and we are grateful to him, and to his family, for their continuing support of our efforts.)

## HISTORICAL MONUMENT FUND GROWING, BUT MORE FUNDS NEEDED TO SET UP ANOTHER MARKER IN 1974

One of Fadden's special projects has been putting large stone monuments up at various sites of special significance, dedicated to those who have helped contemporary native causes, and describing events and making statements regarding the native history of this land and life. Monuments are now at the Sour Springs Long House at Six Nations Reserve, at Akwesasne, at

Monroe, N.Y., Deseronto, Ontario, for example.

Currently, he is saving up the \$1,000 necessary for a stone engraving to be put up in 1974. Funds from the sale of his new book, *Wampum Belts*, and from private donors, will be used.

Persons wishing to contribute to this project should write him at Six Nations Museum, Onchiota, New York.







The 1974 AKWESASNE NOTES calendars are even more impressive this year than before. Art work by Kahonhes and Karoniaktaje with fine color printing by Glad Day Press combine with historical data for each day of the year to make a 17x23 14-page wall-hanging that will attract attention in homes, offices, and bulletin boards. They are \$2.25, including a mailing tube and postage.

Persons ordering quantities for holiday mailing, or groups wanting quantities for fund raising should make their order early. The calendar is available at \$1.00 each in quantities of 50 or more, or at a 40% discount for outlets wishing smaller quantities. Sale of the calendars would be a good January project for Indian clubs, reservation groups, churches, or those who wish to raise funds in their communities for such needs as the Wounded Knee Defense Fund.

1974 CALENDAR

## THE OLD ONES

And now let us think of the Old Ones. It is they who are our true teachers. Those who have kept the wisdom accumulated over centuries will help in these troubled times. They speak our true language, and it is our instruction that when they speak, we should listen.



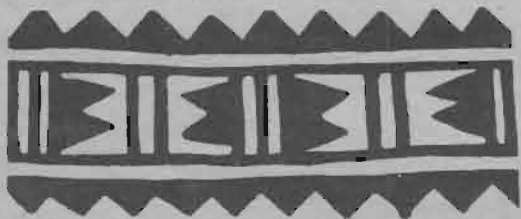
This drawing appears on one page of the 1974 Akwesasne Notes calendar.

## Books Published By Akwesasne Notes

**THE LAW OF THE GREAT PEACE:** the constitution of the League of the People of the Longhouse. 80 pages, illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00.

**MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS:** told in English, and in pictographs, with illustrations by Kahonhes. 36 pages. Written by Ray Fadden. 50 cents.

**WAMPUM BELTS** — a book recording Iroquois historical transactions memorialized by wampum belts, with pictures of replicas of the belts made by Ray Fadden (Tehanetorens), owner of the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota, New York, and students of the Indian Way School at Akwesasne. \$1.50.



**B.I.A., I'M NOT YOUR INDIAN ANYMORE:** The Trail of Broken Treaties Twenty Points. The account from the pages of NOTES about the historic occupation of the BIA headquarters in November, 1972, and the dialogue with the White House on the Twenty Points (the most important recent statement on the thrust of native activism for this decade). \$1.95.

**A MESSAGE FOR ALL PEOPLE:** the Hopi Prophecy as told by Dan Katchongva. A booklet of spiritual directions. Illustrated. \$1.00.

**THE DECLARATION OF BARBADOS** is a little pamphlet, costs only 25 cents, and should be the topic of discussion in every anthropology class and in every church which antes up funds for mission work. Ask your local anthropologist if he/she subscribes to the Declaration.

(All NOTES books are available for resale by native groups and bookstores at a 40% discount in quantity.)

**WOUNDED KNEE STAMPS:** The United States isn't likely to issue a stamp commemorating the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, so we did. The stamps will raise consciousness affixed to letters, or posted in handy public locations. They come 36 to a sheet, and are available postpaid for \$2.00 — of which \$1.00 is a donation to the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Fund. Groups wishing to raise funds for Wounded Knee may find the sale of these stamps a useful method.



This is the poster from which the stamps were made. Reduction here is smaller than the size of the stamps.

## Posters Available From AKWESASNE NOTES

1  South America

2  Chief Joseph

3  Wounded Knee

4  Longhouse to Kiva

5  Zuni Governor

6  Sitting Bull

7  Three Sisters

8  Grandma Hunter

9  Poundmaker

10  Shackled Native

11  Family Portrait

12  Three Horsemen

13  Fire Carrier

**AKWESASNE NOTES**  
Mohawk Nation  
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

## ORDER FORM

| POSTER NUMBER | HOW MANY | NAME OF POSTER                                                                    | PRICE EACH | TOTAL PRICE |
|---------------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
|               |          | Also available:                                                                   |            |             |
|               |          | Hopi Message                                                                      |            |             |
|               |          | LaRaza /                                                                          |            |             |
|               |          | Los Indios                                                                        |            |             |
|               |          | the poster in this issue, A Better Way. Allow 30 days for delivery of this title. |            |             |

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ Apt. \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL OF ORDER \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Posters are 50 cents each, or 3 for \$1. People who wish them protected in shipping by a cardboard mailing tube should add 50 cents. The posters are also available at \$25 for 100 for resale by groups, stores, and individuals.



## RECOMMENDED READING

### BIOGRAPHIES

**ME AND MINE:** The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa as told to Louis Udall. An honest account of a "Progressive Hopi woman." 256 pages, \$3.95.

**WHITE SAVAGE:** The Case of John Dunn Hunter by Richard Drinnon. Scholarly but fascinating story of a white captive who was companion to kings and who tried to found a red & white nation in North America. \$12.50 hardcover only.

**GIVE OR TAKE A CENTURY:** An Eskimo Chronicle by Joseph E. Senungetuk. Personal knowledge of Alaskan lifeways and history. \$12.50 hardcover only.

**WHEN THE TREE FLOWERED:** The Fictional Autobiography of Eagle Voice, a Sioux Indian, by John G. Neihardt. A warm and human account of Lakota manhood. \$1.65.

**TRAPPING IS MY LIFE** by John Tetso. Workaday letters from a Slavey trapper in the far north.

### ANTHROPOLOGISTS & OTHER ACCOUNTS

**INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA** by Harold E. Driver. A hefty 620-page anthropology text which contains useful information arranged by subject. \$6.85.

**THE SKY PEOPLE** by Tom Shakespeare. Partly anthropological, part reminiscence, about the Arapahoe Nation. \$3.95 hardcover only.

**THE WESTERN AMERICAN INDIAN:** Case Studies in Tribal History, edited by Richard N. Ellis. Collection of 14 case studies examining the impact of white settlement, government policy, on native life in the west from the mid-1850s. 200 pages. \$2.95.

**AMERICAN INDIAN LIFE** edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. First published in 1922. Includes 27 tales of Indian life by students of various cultural styles. \$2.95 400 pages.

**NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** edited by Eleanor Leacock and Nancy Lurie. A collection of 13 articles about 13 culture groups. An anthro text well done, with interesting information and insight. \$10.50 hardcover.

**HOUSE AND HOUSE-LIFE OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINE** by Lewis H. Morgan. A reprint of the 1881 classic of the relationship between architecture and cultural patterns. Illustrated. \$2.95.

### NOVELS

**A WOMAN OF THE PEOPLE** by Benjamin Capps. A novel of a white captive girl among the Comanches. A warm poignant story. 224 pages, 95 cents.

**FIG TREE JOHN** by Edwin Corle. An embittered Apache's struggle to raise an Apache son in the face of "civilization." A tense, exciting, brilliant character study. \$2.45.

**I HEARD THE OWL CALL MY NAME** by Margaret Craven. Just done for television as a CBS special. The novel of a priest and a village, and what happened to each. \$3.95 hardcover only.

**SEVEN ARROWS** by Hyemeyohsts Storm. A controversial novel of the Cheyenne which has provoked affection — or disgust. Now in paperback, illustrated, color plates \$4.95.

### THE MAGIC MEDICINES

**THE TEACHINGS OF DON JUAN: A YAQUI WAY OF KNOWLEDGE** by Carlos Castaneda. The first volume of the trilogy on a man's experience with hallucinatory drugs of the Southwest, with a medicine guide. \$1.25.

**A SEPARATE REALITY:** Further Conversations with Don Juan by Carlos Castaneda. Socratic dialogue a la Yaqui. Philosophy of a new reality. \$1.25.

**JOURNEY TO IXTLAN:** The Lessons of Don Juan, by Carlos Castaneda. A third volume devoted to understanding the Yaqui way of knowledge. \$2.95.

**THE PEYOTE CULT** by Weston LaBarre. A supportive but anthropological study of group use of psychedelic drug for spiritual purposes. \$2.45.

### ART, POEMS & PHOTOS

**THERE IS MY PEOPLE SLEEPING** by Sarain Stump. Ethnic poem-drawings in a nice gift book. \$9.50, hardcover.

**INDIANS: A SKETCHING ODYSSEY** by Joe Rosenthal. Sensitive sketches accompanied by the artist's commentary of his trip across Canada. Many sketches suitable for framing. \$15.00 hardcover. 76 pages.

**IN A SACRED MANNER WE LIVE:** Photographs of the North American Indian by Edward Curtis. Introduction by Don Fowler. 148 pages. Now in paperback \$5.95.

### THE NORTHWEST

**POTLATCH** by George Clutesi. A description of the event through the eyes of a participant — a fascinating insight to a remarkable ideal. \$5.95 hardcover only.

**INDIANS OF THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST** edited by Tom McFeat. A book of anthropological essays on a rich culture area. \$2.95.

**THE WOLF AND THE RAVEN:** Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska by Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest. Photos of poles, and the story connected with each. 150 pages. \$3.95.

**UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY:** Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians. A report prepared for AFSC with an excellent introduction on the value of diversity in life by Walter Taylor. \$2.50 for 232 pages.

**INDIANS OF PUGET SOUND** by Hermann Haeblerlin and Erna Gunther. Published 1930, an excellent cultural description almost lost. 80 pages. \$1.95.

**ETHNOBOTANY OF WESTERN WASHINGTON:** The Knowledge and Use of Indigenous Plants By Native Americans, by Erna Gunther. 70 pages. \$2.45.

**SON OF RAVEN, SON OF DEER:** Fables of the Tse-Shaht people by George Clutesi. Teaching legends told in a contemporary manner. Hard cover only, illustrated, 120 pages. \$4.75.

### THE NATIVE VOICES

**THE AMERICAN INDIAN: THE FIRST VICTIM** edited by Jay David. Life, suffering and hopes by native writers. A collection of articles and essays. \$2.25.

**THE WAY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN INDIAN LITERATURE** edited by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. Like no other anthology. Poems, essays, articles, from the past and present. \$1.95.

**I AM AN INDIAN,** edited by Kent Gooderham. Essays and poetry by native people. An attractive pot-pourri of short pieces. \$2.50.

**ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND** by Indians of All Tribes. Poetry, essays, paintings, and the feelings of the historic occupation. 105 pages. \$3.95.

### RACISM AND ITS SOURCES

**THE LOVE OF POSSESSION IS A DISEASE WITH THEM** by Tom Hayden. The horrible reality of the Vietnam War done to help discern the link between what white Americans are doing in Indochina and what they did to the 19th century American native people. \$1.95.

**TEXTBOOKS AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN** by the American Indian Historical Society. An annotated bibliography of school texts, and a criteria for examination of texts for racist input. \$4.75

**THE ONLY GOOD INDIAN: THE HOLLYWOOD GOSPEL** by Ralph and Natasha Friar. A highly entertaining and revealing study of how the popular media, particularly film, has contributed to America's racism. \$12.50 hardcover. 330 pages, illustrated.

**TO SERVE THE DEVIL, Volume 1: A Documentary Analysis of America's Racial History and Why it Has Been Kept Hidden,** by Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau. A devastating tracing of the impact of racism in America's policies and power. 360 pages, \$2.45.

### NICE FOR KIDS

**GLOOSCAP AND HIS MAGIC:** Legends of the Wabanaki Indians, by Kay Hill. Stories from the people of the dawn. \$2.50.

**THE WEEWISH TREE** — "A magazine of Indian America for Young People". Assorted back issues of this periodical are \$1. Good for kids and teachers, too.

**THE STORY OF COMOCK THE ESKIMO** as told to Robert Flaherty and edited by Edmund Carpenter. A stranger-than-fiction survival story with delightful Inuit drawings. Great for children or adults. 117 pages, 95 cents.

### THE LEGAL SCENE

**THE PONCA CHIEFS:** An Account of the Trial of Standing Bear by Thomas Henry Tibbles. A court battle to establish that Indians were "persons" under American law. 140 pp. \$2.25.

**NATIVE RIGHTS IN CANADA** (2nd edition) by Peter Cumming and Neil Mickenberg. A challenge to the legal and historical assumptions behind many injustices. 350 pages, \$7.95.

**RED MAN'S LAND, WHITE MAN'S LAW:** A Study of the Past and Present Status of the American Indian by Wilcomb E. Washburn. A history of the legal status of the American Indians from the period of first contact with Europeans down to the present day. \$7.95 hardcover only.

### APACHES

**APACHE, NAVAHO AND SPANIARD** by Jack D. Forbes. Devastates many myths, and chronicles tragedies in a scholarly interesting study. 300 pages, hardcover only. \$7.95.

**THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF NINO COCHISE** by Ciyé Nino Cochise. A fascinating account of Apache life on and off the reservation from 1876 'til now. \$1.50.

**APACHE CHRONICLE:** The Story of the People by Upton Terrell. A chronological account told with faint bias, but with useful data. 400 pages, hardcover only, \$12.50.

### THE PLAINS PEOPLE

**CHEYENNE MEMORIES** by John Stands in Timber and Margot Liberty. Oral tradition beginning with legendary times and extending to the first year of the reservation. 328 pages, \$2.25.

**WOODEN LEG: A Warrior Who Fought Custer,** interpreted by Thomas B. Marquis. An old man tells the stories of his life. 384 pages, \$2.25.

**THE OMAHA TRIBE** by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis LaFlesche. First published in 1911. Volume I is devoted to origins, individual rites, quest for food. Volume II is on social life, music, disease, religion. Each volume is about 300 pages, and costs \$3.50.

**BLACKFOOT LODGE TALES:** The Story of a Prairie People by George Bird Grinnell. Just as they were told in the lodge. Life and legends. 300 pages. \$2.25.

**THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE** by Paul Radin. Reprint of data gathered in 1908-13 of material gathered from informants. 500 pages, \$3.50.

**THE SUN DANCE PEOPLE:** The Plains Indians, Their Past and Present written and photographed by Richard Erdoes. For teen-age readers and adults. The struggle for land, identity, and life in a sensitive portrait. \$1.50.

**THE CHEYENNE INDIANS: Their History & Ways of Life,** by George Bird Grinnell. First published in 1923. Volume I is devoted to Early Cheyenne history, old-time ways, village life. Volume II includes warrior societies, religious beliefs, ceremonies, healing, and each volume is about 300 pages. \$3.00 each.

### MISCELLANEOUS

**NAVAHO INDIAN ETHNOENTOMOLOGY** by Leland Wyman and Flora Bailey. An analysis of what Navahos know about insects. Primarily of interest to naturalists and Navahos. \$3.00.

**THIS COUNTRY WAS OURS: A Documentary History of the American Indian** by Virgil Vogel. A collection of significant documents for reading and quoting. \$12.95.

**OUR RED BROTHERS and the Peace Policy** of President Ulysses S. Grant by Lawrie Tatum. Southern Plains history of Kiowas, Comanches and others, with background on federal policy. 358 pages, \$2.25.

**GREEN HELL:** Massacre of the Brazilian Indians by Lucien Bodard. History and contemporary events on Brazilian genocide. \$8.95 hardcover. 290 pages.

**THE NEW INDIANS** by Stan Steiner. An early account of modern activism, still a best-seller. \$2.45.

**AFTER THE DEATH OF AN ELDER KLALLAM** and other poems by Duane McGinnis. Poetry from the Pacific Northwest. 50 pages. \$2.40.

**TO DIE GAME:** The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerillas of Reconstruction, by W. McKee Evans. Guerrilla warfare against the Ku Klux Klan and the political establishment of North Carolina after the War Between the States. \$8.95 hardcover only.

**INDIANS AND OTHER AMERICANS: Two Ways of Life Meet** by Harold Fey and D'Arcy McNickle. A historical/sociological survey of dark deeds, primarily for those Americans who would like to help. 1959. \$1.25.

**THE INDIAN BACKGROUND OF LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY:** The Maya, Aztec, Inca, and Their Predecessors, edited by Robert Wauchope. 200 pages, \$2.95.

**DAMS AND OTHER DISASTERS:** A Century of the Army Corps of Engineers in Civil Works, by Arthur E. Morgan. Not especially about Indians, although several chapters detail reservation floodings, and its valuable just for that. 406 pages, hardcover only, \$7.50.

**INDIANS IN TRANSITION:** An Inquiry Approach by Gerald Walsh. Curriculum Resource Series. An attempt to examine "the Indian problem" in Canada and to consider "solutions." \$2.95.

**PEOPLE OF THE DEER** by Farley Mowat. The account of an author who shared the life of the Inuit in the Arctic Circle. A passionate tribute. 95 cents.

**MASKED GODS:** Navaho and Pueblo Ceremonials by Frank Waters. The view of life & man's place in the creation, as seen from the Southwestern peoples. \$1.65.

**THE CHICKASAWS** by Arrell Gibson. A history of the Chickasaw Nation and its 350-year struggle to stay alive. Hardcover only, 313 pages, \$8.95.

**BEAD DESIGN:** A comprehensive course for beginner and experienced craftsman by Ruth Wasley and Edith Harris. Ideas for flowers, jewelry, and things you never guessed beads could make, with sketches of stitches. 216 pages, \$3.95.

### ALCHERINGA

This is the first journal of Ethnopoetics, tribal poetry translated and reworked by poets and writers, and edited by Jerome Rothenberg. Various back issues are available of this experimental idea.

**ALCHERINGA TWO:** Translations from Zuni, Tlingit, Osage, Nez Perce and Haide, and two renderings of the Navajo Horse Songs of Frank Mitchell (with a sound recording insert.) 100 pages, paperbound, \$2.00.

**ALCHERINGA THREE:** A Mini-Anthology of South American Indian Poetry, Havasupai Medicine Song, Interview with a Seneca Songman, Shaman Songs, and others. 96 p., paper, \$2.50.



# MICROFILM

**WILLIE DUNN:** (stereo). Produced by White Roots of Peace, with words, music, and songs by Willie Dunn, a Micmac/Métis folksinger, and a Grass Dance Song & Chief's Song by Jerry Saddleback. Lyrics printed in album cover. Includes Ballad of Crowfoot from the film of the same name, and nine other songs. \$5.00.

price, 30 minutes — \$7.00  
45 minutes — \$8.50  
60 minutes — \$10.00  
90 minutes — \$11.00

Volume Five (1973) is not yet complete. This is number six. Number 1, the Trail of Broken Treaties issue, is out of print, although it is now available partly in book form. The other issues of this volume are still available.

*The Special Sampler consists of Northwest Coast, Pride of the Iroquois, and Old Chippewa Straight blends. The latter contains no tobacco — just ingredients from northern forests. The three 2 ounce pouches are also \$3.15.*

(Commercial dealers and others wishing to re-sell Kinni-Kinnick may order in quantity at a 1/3 discount. A special box containing six packets of each of the six varieties, with a retail value of \$37.60, costs \$25.00 postpaid.)

[illegible]

Think of our brothers and sisters in prisons — add an extra dollar or two to your order, and we will match it with a like amount and send a gift book to a prisoner.



## So long, Better Homes & Gardens

**NOTES:** I'd like to thank Russell Means for bringing the plight of the American Indian to my attention. I have been asleep in my 99% white suburb for the last seven years. Thanks for waking me up — I'll never take Better Homes and Gardens again so long as AKWESASNE NOTES is still in print.

I'm so ashamed for not realizing my duty before Wounded Knee happened. When the Indian is recognized as a whole person, then I can be too.

Mrs. Craig Rowlette  
Farmington, Michigan

## Not Affluent, but Appreciative

**NOTES:** Received your last issue and the very thoughtful gift of a book. I am delighted with, grateful for, and thoroughly enjoying both. You are most kind.

I may not be among the more affluent of your readers, but you would be hard put to find a more appreciative one.

Gordon K. Yates  
POBox B38901 (Folsom Prison)  
Represa, California 95671

## Native Craftsmen Wanted

**NOTES:** We are interested in learning names of any dancers and crafts people who would like to take part in ALL-INDIAN shows, and all genuine arts and crafts.

Jimmy L. Turtle  
4225 Concord St.  
Harrisburg, Pa. 17109



## Seeking Yaqui Ancestors

**NOTES:** I am Yaqui. I am trying to trace the actual happenings involved in the murders of my great grandparents. It happened sometime before 1900.

My parents are divorced; my mother does not know the true story of their deaths. I know I have at least four half-brothers and sisters somewhere — please write to me if you can.

The family name is Diaz, leading back into the years other names are Reamos, Garcia. They were all born in Sonora or Durango, Mexico, and some fled the Mexican Army in the 1900s to the U.S. If anyone can help me or offer ideas in tracing my ancestors, I would be most thankful. (I can read and write Spanish.)

Anita Diaz Endrezze-Probst  
E 1119 Newark  
Spokane, Washington 99202

## "I Am Learning"

**NOTES:** I cannot say I enjoy reading your paper. But as a member of the white race which has systematically brutalized your people and raped your land, I must read it if we are to have any hope for the future. I am learning.

The Rev. Marvin L. Haave  
Lutheran Chaplain  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

## Help from an Afro-Indio Grandma

**NOTES:** People will only take so much before they start to push back. From what I understand, the Indian problems will be handled in an Indian way, but perhaps on some of the general things (such as discrimination, and destroying the old stereotypes and myths) the black and the red may be able to push together and help both our peoples. The Seminoles gave my people refuge when they ran away from their white masters, and we fought side by side when the whites tried to move the Indians out. Perhaps such a thing could happen again.

I had a mixed-blood great grandmother who raised me as a child. She was proud of her Afro-Indian heritage, and from my grandma, I learned to be proud of me. All power to you.

Mike Rivers  
Omaha, Nebraska

# LETTERS



## Welcome Back, Joe Feather

**NOTES:** As I write these words, I can hear the sounds of the free world. Right outside my window, I often see the squirrel run up a tree; the birds sing to me; the trees are the brightest green I've seen in three years.

This letter is meant to let the people of the native world know that the movement for the natives is not without me. The things I did and said while behind that wall [Federal Prison in Atlanta] was not just a way to spend my time. I enclose my new address for those people who would like to write me.

Joe Feather  
390 Georgia Ave.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

## The Jay Treaty & Canada's Honor

**BROTHERS & SISTERS:** I'm not sure if our people are aware that Canada does not honor the Jay Treaty. Someone should force them to do it, as Canada promised to honor all British commitments.

Wm. Mehquahquay  
Buffalo, New York

## The Colvilles Enter Atomic Age

**NOTES:** An article in the *Wenatchee [Wash.] World* titled "The Atomic Age Comes to the Colvilles" says that a nuclear power plant was planned to be built on the reservation. Great. The same article mentioned that a ski resort and a lumber mill will also be set up. Indians need jobs all right, but what kind of jobs? Serving hordes of rich white tourists? "Yes, sir; yes, M'am; can I help you?"

Mike Pilarski  
Carnation, Washington

## Speakers Can Promote NOTES

**NOTES:** I would like to say something. It seems important. When I was trying to find a way to help, no one who seemed to be in the know told me of newspapers. Perhaps it is not realized how little others are aware. So I would strongly suggest that those who are speakers take newspapers to the speaking engagements to sell or promote. Or a large sign giving the address. I would also urge all those interested in justice to carry at all times a newspaper, and promote it as they go about their daily business. I do this, and it is not so difficult as one would suppose. In fact, I'm really very shy and often times I am scared.

Jacqueline Beckwith  
Cincinnati, Ohio



## It's Great Not to be Forgotten

**NOTES:** Thanks a million for the book. I'm very happy to have you as a friend. I didn't know there were people on the outside who are concerned about the Indian brothers that are incarcerated. It's really a great feeling to know we aren't completely forgotten. Thanks for the smile you gave me.

Frank Bliss  
Box 107 W-10  
Tehachapi, California 93561

## New Vistas for Prisoners

**NOTES:** I'm working on a project to establish communication between alternative living groups (communes, villages, communities, etc.) and women and men in prison. I think individuals in alternative living groups can open new vistas to some of the women and men in prison by corresponding with them, and letting them know of the alternative to returning to the streets.

Christian Ryvlin  
c/o Lime Saddle  
Route 1, Box 191  
Oroville, California 95965



## A Native Land Trust

**BROTHERS:** People, when they die, should leave their land to "all men" in trust of the American Indian. It seems quite obvious to me that the Native Americans are the only people that have the feeling for the land which is necessary to preserve it and use it without destroying it. There would be legal difficulties but I imagine they could be overcome.

The land would be for the use of men or women who need it the most, and who will use it without exploiting the labor of others. Each person should have only enough land for their own needs. The land should not be left to sons and daughters unless they will use it and need it.

Naturally, people do not have to die to give their land back to the Indians. Large land-owners could give some unused pieces back right now!

Mike Bard  
Parkville, New York

(NOTES people would be glad to hear from land-owners who would like to explore trust arrangements for their land. The Editors.)

## Israel: Cowboys or Indians?

**NOTES:** As a Jew and as a human being, I was very much offended by Charles Greier's letter to you [page 45, last issue]. It begins, "The Jewish People were given back their ancient homeland after having been driven from same after a period of 19 centuries."

What about the equally valid claims of the Palestinian people, a kindred Semitic people, driven from their land in this century by the Jews? Until this matter is settled justly and lastingly, Israel remains for me not the archetypal Native American, but the archetypal Cavalryman and immigrant land usurper.

Joyce Kasinsky  
New York, New York

## Compromise Leads to Lost Values

**FRIENDS:** It does my heart good to read NOTES. In time, one learns to adapt to one's environment, but this tends to equate with compromise and if one is not careful, that can lead to a losing of values. It is not easy to stand alone. I've known long that to have true peace of mind, I must chase my dreams and attempt to turn them into reality.

Until reading the letter pages of your last edition, I hadn't realized how international NOTES was. It's very pleasing to find there are people of good heart in so many countries and that you are spreading your message to them. May your influence continue to grow.

Dennis Underwood  
Berks, England

## Skippping a Step to Nationhood

**FRIENDS:** We believe it is incorrect to call the Iroquois a nation now. The Iroquois need land and reparations in order to ensure their national development. Those who claim that nationhood now exists are, consciously or unconsciously, weakening the struggle for land and reparations. They are "skipping over" necessary struggle.

Hammer & Steel  
Box 101  
Mattapan, Massachusetts

## We All Feel Proud

**NOTES:** Anyone ever associated with the AKWESASNE NOTES couldn't help but feel proud when they read of the paper receiving the Kennedy Award.

A reader  
Summit City, California

## Maintaining the Circle of Life

**NOTES:** Your paper has been a constant source of strength and spirit, as well as information. Power comes from the people, and flows back to the people. And NOTES helps maintain the circle.

Bea Hsia  
New York, New York

## Danny Dixon, Where Are You?

**NOTES:** Has anyone in New York news of Darwin (Danny) Dixon, a Navajo? I'd sure like to find him — he's my younger brother.

Hayes Dixon  
Box 394, RFD 1  
Sag Harbor, New York 11963

## Run on a [Very Short] Shoestring

**NOTES:** I first became acquainted with NOTES at the Federal Youth Center in Englewood, Colorado. I'm sure you will be glad to know that the paper is read and appreciated there not only by the Indian prisoners, but by black, white, and Chicano people as well. It is perhaps the best newspaper of its kind that I have seen — intended for a special audience, with national distribution, done by an activist staff, and run on a shoestring.

Peter Simmons  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

## Old Egyptians: People of the Land

**NOTES:** The notes from Tim Zell on your religion page [early autumn issue] recall the story of the oppression of the land religion in Europe, a story that Native Americans can sympathize with.

The ancient Egyptian nation succumbed to Persian and Greek conquest in the period beginning in 600 B.C., in much the same way that the Native American culture was wiped out, or the Aztec nation was destroyed by Cortes. The Egyptians fought bravely, but they were simply outclassed by materialistic warlike societies, for the Egyptians were a peaceful deeply religious people who lived in the loving embrace of their land.

As happened here, the native Egyptian language was replaced by the language of the conquerors, the native Egyptian religion was replaced by Christianity, and the native Egyptian shrines were first looted, then quarried for building stone. Native Egyptian artisans were put to work making trinkets for tourists, and finally, the Egyptian holy places are exploited today with colored lights, background music, tour parties, and souvenir stands. The Arab Egyptian citizen today knows about as much about the Native Egyptians as a typical American knows or cares about the Native Americans.

We have learned a lot about the Egyptian religion by studying the American religions, and we feel that Native Americans could learn a lot about their own native religions by studying the Egyptian religion.

The Egyptian religion was of their land, and that land was in some ways different from the American land, so the religion was different. But the fact that the religion came from the land made it similar in many striking ways, for the great Gods of the land are the same the world over, although their cycles are different. The manner of relating to the loving cycle of nature, weather, and light is the same though the language may be different.

Egypt was the land ancestral to the white man. Now as the Western European culture falters in its march, as the necessity of returning to the love of the land is manifested, Egypt holds the answer for the European white man, for here is his native religion of the land. We do it the way you do — we use Egyptian names, an Egyptian calendar, perform Egyptian religious rituals, and live by Egyptian sacraments.

The Rev. Harold Moss  
The Church of the Eternal Source  
P.O. Box 7091  
Burbank, California 91510

## Please Listen!

**NOTES:** I am proud that organizations such as AIM and AKWESASNE NOTES have greatly contributed to the awakening and determined movement of liberating the Indian people both mentally and physically. NOTES has also reached the non-Indian population, awakening them too. I am half Crow and half Puerto Rican.

We, the non-white races on this land have felt the sting of the white man's prejudice. America — you must hear and listen to our voices. We remain silent no longer. We cannot and will not take more suffering. It's up to you, America — listen. Before Wounded Knee is repeated over and over again, please listen. Listen!

George Apache Martinez  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

P.S. Bury my heart at Wounded Knee.



Sabotage, Wire-taps, Informers

NOTES: AIM is a radical, militant group, and as such they have to prepare and anticipate that the powers that be are going to do everything they can to silence them. Sabotage, informers, wire taps, etc., are all weapons that the power structure has no qualms about using. The rest of us, who believe in what AIM stands for, have to know in our guts that violence, where and when it happens, is imposed upon militants by the oppressions and pressure they are forced to live with. And those within the AIM movement have to know that too. Militants must recognize and deal with paranoia for what it is — another weapon of the power structure. We cannot let them get to us and destroy the movement and turn brother against brother. Our solidarity depends on knowing the enemy in all his forms. I hope all armchair radicals can overcome the sick feeling in their stomachs and continue to give support to AIM. I hope the people in AIM will deal with paranoia so that it does not rip the group apart.

Jeanne Fay  
COMMONACT  
Toronto, Ontario

I'm Not Your Indian Any More

GENTLEMEN: Enclosed is my check for the book, "BIA — I'm Not Your Indian Any More." I'm anxious to have it — I'm an Indian and I work for the BIA.

A Reader  
Marysville, Washington

An Appeal from North Dakota

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I want you to know that I do not consider your papers as reading material for a pasttime. I read it for education knowledge, to learn about my people.

We have an Indian Culture Group here at the prison, and we are interested in obtaining funds for the following projects: beading, pottery, leatherwork and woodworking. We hope to eventually become self-supporting, but at present, we can't seem to continue the group without outside help.

We hope that our Brothers and Sisters outside could give us some help. We would greatly appreciate it. There are 25 brothers here who would like to receive your paper. We wish you peace and happiness. May the Great Spirit be with you always.

Sterling Wallace, Chairman  
Indian Culture Group  
North Dakota State Prison  
POBox 1497  
Bismarck, North Dakota 58501

Our People Around the World

FRIENDS: I have been away from North America since last year. Everywhere I went I visited with our brothers — in Colombia, Chile, New Zealand, New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and New Guinea. To see how the native peoples are treated in countries where they are usually the majority makes me relatively happy to live here — but there seems to me a great deal that we could do to help people who are in a similar situation to us.

In particular, the Maori people of New Zealand, some of the New Guinea peoples, notably the Tolai nation of New Britain, and some Australian native people such as the Gurindji Nation are well organized and would like to cooperate with us on matters such as local input into schooling, native land rights cases, and exchange of information.

May you have peace of mind and continued success in bringing the truth to all of us.

Sanford Smith  
Los Angeles, California



That Terrible Split

RARIHOKWATS: I read and enjoy NOTES, and my father also receives the paper and reads it from cover to cover. NOTES is the only national paper for Indians. Without it, a tremendous communication gap would exist in the Indian world.

I know you will come out of your present difficulties with the elective council because the Creator looks after those who follow the ways he set down in the beginning. Your difficulties once again point out the terrible split that exists throughout the Iroquois world between the Longhouse People and the supporters of the elected council. I have friends and relatives in Grand River Country on both sides of the split, and hope someday to see a resolution of the differences — so the Iroquois People will once again be a unified whole.

Daniel R. Bomberry, Director  
Owens Valley Indian Education Center  
POBox 1648  
Bishop, California 93514

(Our greetings to our Cayuga brother who currently resides with the Paiute/Shoshone People in California. Ed.)

Competent Attorney Needed

NOTES: I am an inmate here at the Federal Correctional Facility, convicted by an all-white jury for interstate transportation of a stolen motor vehicle.

My court-appointed lawyer failed to present me properly — statements were received from my uncle by the FBI, duplicates were made, and they had my aunt and cousin sign them. My uncle has an acute loss of hearing, and his comprehension of English is nil, almost.

At the moment, I am trying to secure a competent attorney to help in the appeal which I am trying to make. My efforts appear useless so I am going to ask you for assistance. Any you can render, for I have been done an injustice.

Maybe if this would appear in your paper, someone will come to my assistance.

Roger M. Thunder Shield  
Federal Correctional Facility  
Sandstone, Minnesota



Hate, Rage, Struggle, Anger, Growth, Ecstasy, Love and Strength

SISTERS AND BROTHERS: This is in response to letters from Georgia Nagle and Sesta Mattheison and to some of the white editorials reported in vol. 5 no. 1. I have so frequently found the word "hatred" thrown at me as I struggle that I have begun to understand the dishonest and manipulative ways in which it is used. "Hatred" seems to be a magic word used by people in the position of oppressor to defend their self-image as "nice" and "fair" and liberal when challenges strike too deeply.

The invaders have cut themselves off from their internal knowledge and spiritual harmony, from the world's hoop inside them. So they must construct false worlds out of words, stretch these words into linear patterns, and try to force their hearts to follow. They think that if only an illusion is made from words, it is real. They do not seek to understand inside themselves, and only then to let words follow knowledge. This is why it is easy for them to confuse rage with hatred, and then to attribute the spiritual destructiveness of hatred to a life-giving rage.

Rage is growth, rage is strength to a people subject to the continuous psychological, cultural, and physical warfare that we know. Rage is love! Because they cannot touch themselves, our conquerors do not understand love; they believe it is smiles and kisses and flattery. When Euro-Americans are destroying our sisters the rivers and winds and mountains and the living beings that are our family, trying to exterminate our race, and trying to kill themselves off, what form does REAL love take but rage? Do I show my love for mother earth and all her children (including white people) by consenting to their destruction?

Whites believe that one can only what is lovable, and that therefore if we seem to "hate" them, we are denying the obvious fact that most of them are "nice people". Their niceness doesn't change the fact that virtually all of them are passive participants in our destruction. Sister Mattheison repeats the popular white jingle that she is not responsible "for the sins of her ancestors". But she is here, now, as a direct result of their preliminaries, living on the graves of our people, living this minute at the expense of our people's lives and the existences of many beings, animate and inanimate. She is responsible for the sins of her ancestors as long as she is not actively attempting to change the patterns and structures of white lives that make this so. We must walk down the complacent streets always weeping inside because we know the terrible price that is paid for the very existence of these streets. The price is paid not only by us, but by our four-legged and winged and green and inanimate sisters and brothers. And it is paid also by our white sisters and brothers, who never seem to ask why emptiness, insecurity, isolation, loneliness, feeling of being lost is so widespread among them — if we could walk down the streets as uncaring as they, we would be as spiritually dead and empty as they.

Rage is our tears coming to the surface. But these tears, tears of love that is part of sorrow, cannot be merely falling drops of water. If the rage is real, the love must be real and if the love is real, the rage must be real.

Sister Nagle compared our movement's path to that of the Black movement, which she called "disastrous for the very people it was trying to help" and "divisive to the whole nation". Well, if we were part of the white nation, I for one would certainly want to divide from it — but really, how can we, or Blacks, be divisive to something that's always been divided? As for being "disastrous", both the Black and Native movements may be so for white complacency. Whites such as Sister Nagle show just how much respect they have for nonwhite peoples by just such panicked reactions to non-white self-assertion and self-love. (Those charges of "divisiveness" and "hatred" are close to the charges of "man-hating" thrown at women who are challenging the white male pattern of competition and domination.) As for "sin inherent in all men" (and women?) — we didn't even have the concept of sin until the invaders came.

So, we might "turn off whites who are sympathetic," as Sister Nagle and so many white editorials threatened? We simply cannot live ever-defensive, intimidated and so dependent on white sympathy that we continuously flatter them as they prance along their genocidal and suicidal way. It would be destructive to them (more and more people are acknowledging that the Indian way is our only hope) and it would be far more destructive to us. Are we to sacrifice ourselves by consenting that our survival continue to be dependent on white whim?

Is it necessary to mention how we have been and are treated? The invaders are seriously trying to eradicate us utterly, and we are fighting for literal survival. Not to be angry about the past would be treason to our ancestors? not to be angry about the present would be suicide.

Whites don't live with the day-to-day anguish and joy that is being Indian in this time of our people's despair. They have the privilege to sit back and be offended by Indian newspapers. (I must mention here regarding the letter from Geri Brophy — she is right. There are a very few natives today born with skin white, black, or yellow. I am not referring to sensitive and wise non-natives with the potential for some understanding, but to people who really are truly Indians.)

Dear, beautiful, beloved native sisters and brothers — let your anger flow! It is a defense, at least, against the psychological warfare against us. We who are Indians, the reality of whose existence is not our coloring but our hearts, must not allow ourselves to be intimidated by white charges of "hatred", especially since the people who make the charges don't understand what love is. There are different forms and different levels of love. The universal love given us of the earth is the substance of the Nations' Hoops we now must mend. It is the reality of the sacred manner in which we live. It is the true way of our ancestors. It is the love that has given us sacred songs and ceremonies, and which shows us how our every act — eating, breathing, speaking — is a sacred ceremony, given us of the earth, and ever binding us to the entire earth and to the past and the future at once. It is the love that tells us that even as life and death and rebirth are all sacred and part of one another, so love, anger, sorrow, pain, pleasure and joy are given us of our mother earth, are sacred, and must be flowed with. It is the love that tells us that our bodies are made of food and air and other gifts of the earth, and their senses and movement complete the cycle of the earth inside us.

This is the love that teaches us that the foreign invaders are also children of our mother earth, and are sacred. Our rage is the first step in teaching them their sacredness, the world inside them, the natural Ecstasy they have lost.

Ecstasy is the measure of our truth as Indians, the measure of all our actions against the sacred way of our ancestors, of the earth. Ecstasy is our love for each other, a special love of Native Americans for one another — love that offers our life and our death to our people and our earth — which in this struggle are one.

Love and strength and beauty to you, and particularly to Brother Rarihokwats at this time; we are praying for him and for AKWESASNE NOTES.

Gayle High Pines  
Chicago, Illinois



Our Brothers are Being Neglected

NOTES: It has not been long since United Tribes has been established and the Native American acknowledged at this institution. Our primary goal has been twofold. First, we would like to make living conditions and incarceration as productive and beneficial as possible. Secondly, to establish residence and work for those [who need that.]

Our efforts have been less than satisfactory. Our efforts to obtain a federal grant has failed to even invoke a single response from our friends in the BIA. Other avenues have produced promising results, but nothing tangible. It grieves me deeply to see our brothers being neglected.

We would like to have seminars with outside organizations, colleges, and groups here within the institution. Upon invitation, some members are eligible to attend Indian functions and activities.

We pray your beautiful work continues to prosper. Blessing of a Yaqui,

Robert Orona, Chairman  
United Tribes Indian Heritage Group  
Dorm 6-79, POBox 608  
Tehachapi, California 93561

The Press White-out on Militancy

NOTES: I haven't had such an uplift in a long time as when I sat down and read my first issue of NOTES. There has been an almost total press blackout on all native militancy, which I hadn't realized before.

I have been involved in radical movements for several years, and what the native Americans are doing now seems to much more courageous and effective than most of the shadow-boxing which passes for activism in the white movement. Don't lose hope — you'll win!

I am also glad to see the vigilance of the "common people" for red-skinned collaborators. The oldest imperialist trick in the world is to delegate individuals from among the oppressed who will lead the others to consent to that oppression. It happened with many of the great chiefs of the past — and it is happening in Vietnam right now . . .

I would also like to reply to Susan Baird's letter, Susan, I don't blame you for your revulsion at white society and culture. I and many others share that same revulsion. But to try to become a native American is the wrong solution, I feel. Your adoption of Indian culture is as strange to them as a native woman who totally renounces her native heritage and culture would be to us whites.

I share some of the guilt feelings you obviously have toward the policies of genocide & culturecide carried out by a few whites in the name of us all. But we must also remember that even though we were accidentally born with white skin, we don't have to accept the racism, corruption, and selfishness of a certain class of people among us. Those people are protecting their financial interests and their power with racism and murder — we have no such commitments. I believe that not all white are evil — mainly it is a class of people who happens to run the government at this time, greedy bullies and their imitators among us common people.

Ordinary whites and ordinary natives have much to fight for side by side. If whites joined the natives in demanding a return of the Black Hills to natives who really believe in the sanctity of the land, we would all benefit from ripping off a choice piece of land from its illegal owners. Other struggles are common ground too — like fighting the strip mining plans in Wyoming/Montana or utterly rejecting John Wayne and his ilk, and banning them from our culture.

As whites, we can influence other whites to change their actions and attitudes, as native Americans can't and shouldn't be expected to. We don't have to prove we're their friends by consuming their culture (in the sense of taking it over.) That's repeating history, isn't it?

We whites can play a real part in the liberation of native Americans and ourselves from a class of people (now multi-racial) who would destroy the world in their greed to control it. Although we may follow different drummers, in the last analysis, it's the same song. The burden of proof is on us.

We whites must remember that actions speak louder than words, and that native Americans need support rather than empty admiration.

Julie Oestereich  
Boston, Massachusetts



Friends for Friends of the Earth

FRIENDS: This letter is in reply to the Havasupai people's reply to my earlier letter about Senator Goldwater's bill S. 1296. [See inside pages for current situation on the Havasupai situation. Ed.]

S. 1296 would not only have returned lands to the Havasupai, it also would have given some 38,000 acres of Grand Canyon National Monument to local cattle ranchers. These cattlemen are the exploiters to whom I referred, and are kin to the other cattlemen, loggers, miners, dammers, and their ilk who would only too gladly rip up, chop down, dam and ruin this country's diminishing wilderness resources for their private gain — yes, and resort builders too.

I personally hold no brief for the National Park Service, and neither does Friends of the Earth as an organization, but we do wish to see National Park lands protected. In some cases — and the Havasupai cited only a few of them — the Parks need to be protected from the Park Service itself.

I fully concur with AKWESASNE NOTES' editorial note, and have suggested just such a campaign to return Havasupai lands to the people who implement FOE's policy at the legislative lobbying level in Washington. I'm sure that if the Havasupai people were to contact our Washington office, many fruitful discussions would result.

Bruce Colman  
Friends of the Earth  
San Francisco, California



## Telling It Like It Is

NOTES FRIENDS: Thanks — this is the only word we can think of that can possibly express our group's appreciation for what you have done for us. Your paper has helped our group a lot, not just informing us, but having a lot to do in holding our group together.

Your paper is helping people see things as they really are. As long as the Indian people have NOTES telling the country the way things really are, the public won't think of the Indian as a lazy good-for-nothing drunk.

Because of your paper, we have an Indian Culture Group in the reformatory today.

Robert Horn  
Iowa State Reformatory

## Strength, Determination, and Fight

NOTES: I eagerly await each issue of NOTES to extract from it the sense of strength, determination, and fighting spirit that it passes on to its readers. It is the only publication on which we can rely.

Torkel Bennerstedt  
Sweden

## Building a Positive Self-Image

NOTES: The entire work of our congregation, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, is among American Indians and Negroes. Building a positive self-image is a very important part of our educational system. We appreciate the quality of the work you are doing, and wish you God's blessing that it continue.

Sr. Joan Burns  
Cornwells Heights, Pa.

## The Failures of the White Press

NOTES: I first came across NOTES during the Wounded Knee occupation, and without your thorough coverage, I might never have gotten a cohesive account of that struggle. And needless to say, I didn't hear of Gallup, Custer, or Scottsbluff from the wire services.

Now, with the trials soon to start in Rapid City, I am sickened at the prospect of more manipulation and muzzling of the established press by the government. As a white woman, I am by far less shocked at the reprehensible treatment of Native Americans by this government than I am by the failure of the white press to respond to it appropriately. I know the basic premises of federal Indian policy are villainous — I am still naive enough about the concept of free press to be appalled at the willingness of the press at large to be silenced by that villainy.

So, in this atmosphere of collusion and dark conspiracy, where the word must travel underground, there is AKWESASNE NOTES. And I for one am grateful.

Bonnie Fultz  
Urbana, Illinois

## Aborigines Learn from NOTES

NOTES: I am involved in a program initiated and run by Aboriginal and Island people in Townsville [Australia], designed to offer native people here an alternative to the state system of education where their needs are largely ignored.

The children and their parents have expressed a sympathy with the cause of American Indians, and feel that your struggle has much in common with theirs. Your issue on Wounded Knee taught me much.

Anwyl Burfein  
Black Community School  
Queensland, Australia

## ... and Ecuador natives read it too.

NOTES: While in Ecuador, I received a copy of the NOTES and translated several articles for the Federation of Shuar Indians of East Ecuador. They are very interested in hearing what Indians are doing in other parts of the Americas, and they were deeply moved by the news of Wounded Knee, a story that had widespread but not intensive coverage in Ecuador and the rest of the Andean region.

They asked me to send their regards to the people at Wounded Knee, and to the people of Akwesasne, and they would like to start some exchange of ideas and information. If you write to them directly in English, they have people who could write back, but if you could correspond in Spanish, it would be easier.

The Shuar Federation is 11 years old, and directs the forces and defenses of 100 communities with approximately 17,000 members, all Shuar (Jivaro) Indians. They are the strongest and best organized completely-Indian group in Ecuador.

Please write to:  
Presidente Pedro Kunkump's  
Federacion de Centros Shuar  
Sucua, Morona-Santiago  
Ecuador, South America

Bruce Horowitz  
New York, N.Y. 10003

## Honesty is Encouraging

NOTES: I am glad your paper is so honest about reporting all available facts even when they might be uncomfortable to the side you support. Other papers could learn this from you.

I hope you keep going. You all carry some of the most encouraging news I have ever heard.

Jodey Bateman  
Norman, Oklahoma

## The Animals: Our Teachers

NOTES: I wonder how many Indian tribes there are in United States and what their names are? What kinds of tribal customs and living they do? What is the sign when there are two moons in the sky on a summer night or stars form shapes of animals and people? What is the sign when the mountains seem to call you back after you lived among them for so long and the wild animals?

The reason I'm asking these things are I used to live among the animals up the north fork 18 miles from town of Grand Forks. I had the opportunity to try and learn the lives of animals. They used to come around the house. The deer used to look into the windows and even eat out of our dog's dish. The mountains were full of bobcats, cougars, lynx, bears, coyotes. They all come near the house at night.

Across the mountains and river where the Rocky Mountain goats roam, it was very interesting to see the white goats climbing the steep mountain of green under a clear blue sky. There were fish swimming in the creek near our door and chipmunks and squirrels scrambling up the trees and gophers and snakes across the ground. When I went down to the mailbox there was a coyote following with our dog and I put my hand on the coyote's neck. It walked right along with me.

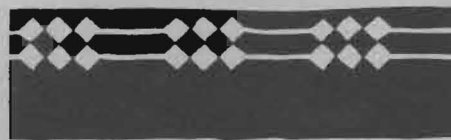
Edna Stone  
Grand Forks, British Columbia

## The Only Thing We Hear

NOTES: My father was full-blood Cherokee, and my grandmother never tired of telling us how her mother was made to walk and leave her home so many miles in the winter, and her feet swelled up and broke and she could never wear shoes — she had to wrap them up in old rags; and how so many women and children died.

My mother and father are both dead now, and the only thing we hear of our people much is from your paper.

Carol Fartching  
Detroit, Michigan



## It's Indian Project Time Again

DEAR SIR: We are doing a project on Indians at school, and I would like to know if, it wasn't too much trouble, to send me a little piece of leather, like from an Indian's dress. Also some beads.

If you could get anything that has to do with Indians, I would appreciate it.

Patty Bunce  
Manchester, Connecticut

(Patty, perhaps all you know about the people you call Indians will come from your teacher and your television. Someday, when you are older, maybe you will learn that your school's "Indian Project" is like a joke, but a cruel and unfortunate joke. We're sending you a copy of a newspaper that will have a lot of things too complicated for you to understand, maybe. Pass it on to your teacher as a gift from your Indian friends. The editors.)



"Granddaddy, tell me again about how old Chief Red Fox outwitted McGraw-Hill."

(Last year, there was considerable controversy concerning "Chief" William Red Fox, whose memoirs, published by McGraw-Hill, were found to contain over 100 pages of another book, as well as recollections of the 101-year-old man. The letter below is by a man who knew Red Fox in earlier years.)

NOTES: I first met "Chief" William Red Fox at my home town, Natchitoches, Louisiana, when I was an eight-year-old boy in the second grade. He came by our school in 1917, and presented a little talk about Indians and sang a few songs and did some dancing to his own accompaniment on a skin drum. He got me and a little girl named Clytie Barlow on the stage, because we were sitting in the front row, and dubbed us with Indian names with a little ceremony. He had me facing the audience, which was the first to the seventh grades, and he danced in a circle behind me. He was going along with his tom-tom beat and as he got right behind me, he fetched a war whoop, the only one I ever heard. The shock was terrific, and I shall never forget how my blood ran cold.

All of that took place 55 years ago, and I can say that it was my impression then that Red Fox was no spring chicken in those days. I ran into him two or three times later after I was grown, always when he passed through my home town, and once I had him out to dinner with my mother at our home.

Red Fox told me that his Sioux name was Tookaloolootah, spelled here according to the way it sounded to me. He told me that he was an Oglala, that his home was in Rosebud and that his father, Chief Black Fox, fought at the Little Big Horn and inferred that he was an associate of Gall, Crazy Horse, and the other war chiefs.

For some reason, Red Fox very much disliked Admiral Richard E. Byrd, the Antarctic explorer, and claimed to have made a trip with him. At that time, he claimed to be the only Indian who had ever graduated from the Naval Academy at Annapolis. He told me a story about the time he rejoined the Navy in World War I as a Lt. Commander after acting like a dumb, long-haired grunting Indian to the guards at the Navy Building in Washington, who did not want to let him in. Afterwards, he went back and made them salute.

He told me that for a while, he was in the movies in Hollywood, but got disgusted with it. Red Fox continued his work as a showman and in later years he fell in with the A&P grocery stores, for which he traveled for some years.

He has certainly lived an interesting life, and seen a lot of things. If he could remember it clearly, it would be quite interesting, and I do not see why he ever felt the need to turn to plagiarism.

Gordon Gunter, Director Emeritus  
Gulf Coast Research Laboratory  
Ocean Springs, Mississippi

## The Universal Cycle of Giving

NOTES: My contribution is so small in comparison to yours. I'm sorry I can't give more.

Carmen Madrinán

(We appreciate all help, and value small contributions as much as larger ones, for we know that each represents the best the donor can do. The \$4,000 a month needed just to pay printing, postage and supplies comes almost entirely from contributions of \$5 and under. We are grateful to you. The editors.)

## Prepare for the Fall of America

NOTES: America is soon to fall, and with it will go the whole western capitalistic world. We've been warning this nation for over five years now, and the time is at hand. I don't believe you have to be a prophet of God to see just that happening to America.

So what can be done? I believe that the Great Spirit could really use the power of your pen to help your people to see what really is happening here in America, and instead of fighting Capital Hill, which seems to be leading nowhere, that possibly the wisest thing that could be done is to prepare yourselves for the fall of America.

Whenever you see a thunderhead forming in the distance, you know that a storm is coming and you get prepared for it, if you are wise.

Gamaliel Forester  
Children of God  
Washington, D.C.

## No Presidential Pardons for Indians

NOTES: I sent a letter to the President of the United States, requesting a Presidential pardon for the men involved in the Wounded Knee affair. A number of weeks later, I received a standard mailing information package from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, containing literature on the American Indian, including a flier describing the Wounded Knee incident.

Apparently our president is more concerned with spending millions of our tax dollars daily on bombs and aircraft for other countries, than improving the social standings of his own countrymen. This situation is intolerable, and we MUST endeavor to correct it.

Robert E. Mann  
Bradford, Ohio

## Let's Unite and Stop the Monster

NOTES: Before I received your last issue, I had known about strip mining in vague sort of way. I knew that it was done in the U.S., but only "somewhere". Now that I know it is on reservations, I am determined to do something about it.

I am not trying to tell anyone how and where to live, but it seems to me that reservations are the only possible place, yet, that people would be able to carry on the traditional way of life.

I, for one, do not think that fuel to heat my parents' home or energy to feed my television set, or any of the other supposed luxuries, is worth the tearing up of the earth and displacement of families, and I'm sure there are other people who feel the same way. Let's unite and stop the monster who is eating our earth and causing misery among our peoples.

We are the only ones who can stop the monster — it won't stop by itself, for it has an insatiable appetite.

Karen Wendell  
Concord, Massachusetts

## The Southwestern Confederation

BROTHERS & SISTERS: "Activist" brothers and sisters in the Southwest have been organizing within the last several months so that Indian People in Arizona and New Mexico might regain their sovereign rights as guaranteed in the treaties and by the Great Spirit.

The Southwest Confederation is affiliated with many groups, namely the Southwest Indian Legal Aid Committee, the American Indian Movement chapters in Phoenix, Fort Defiance, Navajoland, and Ajo; and members of the Robert Nakaidinae Trust Defense Fund Committee and concerned individuals. The Unity Camp is being established permanently for all native people to live as free and independent people, relearning and living in the traditional way. We hope that Indian people, especially those in the cities, will return to the land and we invite all native people to come to the Papago country and live together in a good way.

Following the Sun Dance Ceremonies in South Dakota, the southwest contingent returned to Northern Arizona to begin setting up a camp on the Navajo Reservation near Fort Defiance. The AIM chapter hosted the Unity Conference — presently the land is open to people who wish to live there. Write POBox 193, Fort Defiance, Arizona, for information.

Small Bear  
General Delivery  
Sells, Arizona

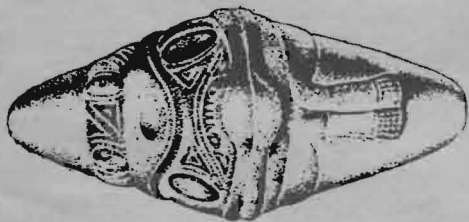


## A Wealth of Information

NOTES: Your fine publication certainly is an important voice for the Indian people and continues to present a wealth of information about Wounded Knee, the massive legal onslaught against those who participated in the liberation of the village for 71 days, and many other matters as well.

Your recent article about the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee and its work did contain one disturbing inaccuracy in that it referred to me as the head of the Committee. The Committee has sought to function in a collective fashion since its birth about seven months ago. Russell Means has been working closely with the Committee since his release from jail and he and other AIM members, residents of the Pine Ridge reservation and defendants, have played decisive roles in determining the political direction of the Committee. In addition, each of the women and men who work through the Committee on the reservation, in the office or in the courtroom, participate in making both the day-to-day and long-range decisions that shape the committee. While the Committee enjoys at least its share of weaknesses and problems, the strength of the Committee lies to a large extent in its collective approach to problems and its direct contact with the defendants and the other residents of the reservation. Those of us who have come to South Dakota from other places hope that our contribution to the struggle of our sisters and brothers for national liberation is as meaningful in the long run as has been the contribution to our thinking and our feeling by our Indian comrades.

Mark Lane  
Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Com.  
Box 991,  
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701



## "All Indians Aren't Protesting ..."

NOTES: I enjoy reading the NOTES, but there seems to be a lack of articles of Indian professionals in technical field. It almost seems that you don't accept the fact that some Indians have worked their way through university in technical and scientific fields. I feel these people are newsworthy, and would give your readers an insight of Indians from another viewpoint.

All Indians aren't protesting and dressing like something out of an anthropology book written by a whiteman, or trying to stagnate themselves.

Richard E. French  
Browning, Montana

## Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth

COMRADES, BROTHERS, FRIENDS: To the People of the struggle, I write this letter to you. As an Attikka political prisoner, I'm grateful for your overwhelming involvement in our struggle, and the support that you have been extending to all of us. It's our realization that we must achieve a substantial unity in order to bring about fundamental structural changes in American society. It is absolutely necessary that we reach and maintain a significant level of solidarity in our political and social struggle against the "sick functionaries" of the system. The only effective way to deal with imperialism and the new and old colonialism headed by the U.S. is to wage a head-on struggle against them — tooth for tooth, and eye for eye. We should never cherish the slightest illusion about them.

I look forward to the NOTES as a source of information (and inspiration) which I can get only from a few. I hope that you do what many people seem unable to do: recognize oppression and work to mobilize the people's energies for constructive action, which is what the struggle is all about.

I say from my prison cell: Right on! to Akwesasne.

Willie Haslip 28550 (Lariff)  
Box 149  
Attica, New York 14011

One of the ways readers of NOTES can help to spread the word is to call the book review editor of your local paper, campus paper, etc., and suggest that he should do a review on NOTES. Loan your copy, or ask us to send one. Letters to the editor, quoting NOTES and giving our address, on some current topic, also help. NOTES people.

## Wake Up Before It Is Too Late

NOTES: I pray to the Great Spirit that you may find enough money daily to make the paper. And I pray for you people to keep the energy up and not to be discouraged.

I hope people in Canada are starting to wake up and see that we people are involved too. A group of us moved to the north near Uranium City, Saskatchewan. The place is called Carswell Lake. This is our ancestral grounds. For generations and generations we have trapped, stayed, fished. But we are having trouble — there is a mining camp there. They shall start strip mining soon.

[The Government] wants Carswell Lake for a provincial park. So they will probably kick us off. But we shall not give up our land [except] over our dead bodies.

I hope Indians out here wake up before it is too late. We are young and our children shall know these things for we shall teach them.

P. Wandering River  
Uranium City, Saskatchewan



John G. Neihardt, poet-laureate of Nebraska and scribe for Black Elk Speaks, took his journey into the West at age 92 November 3 in Columbia, Missouri. His books on Lakota culture have given hope to native and non-native alike.

Yakima People recently lost a well-known leader, the chairman of the tribal council, Robert B. Jim. He was buried in the traditional way of the Yakima near the small community of White Swan, Washington. Thousands attended the three-day-and-night traditional Longhouse funeral services. To the beat of seven traditional drums, accompanied by songs of the People, and with many young Longhouse dancers participating, Robert was accompanied on his way to join his Yakima ancestors.



Native people in Washington, D.C., had valued the friendship of Puma Jackson, who followed the ways of Shoshone/Nez Perce peoples. She did art work for Indian Legal Information Development Service, and one of her sketches is above. Suddenly, while en route to Pawnee for an AIM convention, she passed into the Spirit World. Her ashes are now scattered in Oklahoma, where she was headed, on the land of her People. Her friends mourn her absence. The editor and staff of the Legislative Review remember her: "It is difficult to speak of our friend Puma only in gentle language or re-

## Genocide in Vermont?

NOTES: Will anyone knowing of any native American originally from or currently living in Vermont or New Hampshire please have them contact me. This is for the purpose of starting a council of native Americans in those two states, improving the lives of our people there, and reminding the governments in Concord and Montpelier that they haven't wiped us out yet. This council will be for any native in or from Vermont or New Hampshire, regardless of tribal affiliation or ancestry. (This writer is from Passumpsic, Vermont, and currently lives in Salem, New Hampshire.)

Ronald Canns  
Boston Indian Council  
405 Washington St.  
Dorchester, Massachusetts 02124

(The entire northwestern portion of Vermont is still under active claim by the Mohawk Nation, and there has been much talk of traditional Mohawks returning there to establish a community which would live in harmony with that land. We trust Vermonters would welcome having its native people back, for they have made efforts to keep their land nice and pure and seem to value all natural things there. The editors.)

## Where Are All the Voices?

NOTES: Please don't feel that when your enlightened youth wake up and try to throw off perpetrators of evil ways that they are wrong. No! Your great-fathers who died in battle to resist the encroaching invaders understood well the first law of the invaders: possession and right and honor is based upon this Law. Do not be fooled.

Those of your leaders who shout the loudest that to resist is wrong are those who stand the most to lose in material gain — not an Indian way at all. They and their kind were often the very kind who contributed to the weakening and eventual defeat of your ancestors.

Where are other voices in the Indian struggle? You have ways now of getting your opinions heard. Where are the Mono? Where are the Miwuk? The Nez Perce? Comanche? Arapaho? Where are all the voices we should hear?

I am well aware of the risk you take in speaking out. Those passive of you take note — it means to have your children labeled a risk, [and being called] Un-American. Indian, YOU ARE AMERICA, NOT HE. Do not allow him to insinuate so, even.

You must push for a membership in the United Nations. You who suffer to see your children locked up in the jails must realize how futile is the attempt of one poor soul to try to fight the invader and his "judicial system."

Mountain-Under-Mountain  
New York City



## A Song for Ourselves to Carry

SISTERS & BROTHERS: Today, we here from Chinle would like to write a few words. We all want to thank you for the calendar that you have got together. And we feel what you say about June is very true and we could see it clear as glass.

We all have a song for ourselves to take with us to the other world. The world of happiness and it is not far from the white man's way.

Brothers and sisters, we are all One. Our Mother is very upset of how we are all going about things in front of our Parents. They are hurt — that is why the weather is confused. So let us get together and get our People together, so at that New Day, we will have all of our Loved Ones with us. It is just around the corner. So let us wake up and start helping our parents — look up and look down: there is a path out there.

Shakun Keams  
Chinle, Navajo Nation



## "The Other Side of the Story"

NOTES: I've been reading your paper for about a year, and have learnt a lot about the "other side of the story" — the half that makes us whites seem not so puritanical. Thank you — it's a very necessary service for all people, especially the whites who haven't experienced it before.

Actually, I wrote to ask a favor. I'm writing a paper dealing with "Environmental City Planning" which will include ideas on the ways to improve the city scene. I hoped some of your readers would send me some ideas that they had on the subject, or maybe related topics that I haven't thought of yet.

Thanks for just being here. Shalom.

Barb Dicker  
228 Forest Drive  
Jericho, New York 11753

To readers of NOTES: We appreciate all the letters we receive — you give us strength and renewed senses of direction that way. We try to answer as many as we can, but each day's mail brings a new pile to bury those not answered the day before. So, please keep writing, and please do not interpret our failure to reply as rudeness or disinterest on our part. Someday, maybe, we will have the staff and resources to see that we return your courtesies. NOTES people.





## OUR MEETING

We met today.  
In the warm sun.  
You smiled and I smiled.  
We said nothing.  
Yet we understood.  
The love that we both know.

— Vickie Vigil

## WHEN THE LEAVES CIRCLE

*When the leaves circle and bud on the tree  
can we play like colts in the fields  
and learn to sing like birds in the nest  
never be tired and always be hungry*

*when the leaves circle and make shade from the Sun  
can we work with the seeds in the Earth  
planting, tending til everything's green  
time to grow and swim in the creek*

*when the leaves circle and dangle in the wind  
gold in the valley and red shining on the mountains  
In the sky geese echo and head on south  
but can we wait here to see the hawks return*

*when the leaves circle and sleep in the Earth  
can we still climb to the ridge of the hill  
stand there quiet as deer in drifting snow  
and listen to that old old song*

*when the leaves circle and bud on the tree  
can our children play like colts in the fields  
and learn to sing . . .*

— Dolly Bird

## CHARLIE WENJACK PROJECTED

There's a yard with turtles and birds  
that can't be reached for the wire and nails  
Starlight dapples the path at noon.  
Toys rust and flowers fade,  
Sunsets appear in the dead of night.  
Violets bow their heads to kiss the ground  
While thousands of chimes hang motionless in the wind.  
An orange lion frowns down  
into a plot on the earth  
where ownership's absentee  
weeks have no days  
and no eyes saw the comet  
that traced a little boy's name in the sky.

— Dnynia

I don't know when I'm thinking good  
or bad.  
It's a crash — like a bottle  
bustin on the  
cement. That's how it is.  
Like a rabbit  
smashed  
on the Interstate  
so fast  
so far out  
of where I can think life  
and death  
love  
and hate  
fire and water — what  
I'm doing here I don't know.  
I sure as hell don't belong  
no where.  
Traveled from alaska arizona chicago  
cleveland  
way  
down  
to chihuahua city, mexico.  
not wanted in no place.  
just movin on from  
bar to bar  
behind bars, in bars.  
Ever been an apache in a mexican jail?  
i have  
think hell might be a better place.  
Not askin for nothing from  
you  
or anyone else. A little late  
for that.  
Our land already been  
shit on  
cut up  
buried live  
really messed up  
by them that take.

My grandfather called the  
white people in our language  
them that take.  
So he drank  
hisselt to  
death  
and I guess  
that's what I'm doin.  
I don't stay  
in the same place long.  
I never lived on a reservation  
but my grandfather did  
and he run away from it into mexico.  
Went from san carlos all the way  
to the Sierra Madre Mountains  
for a long time.  
He come back for my granma  
and she died from TB.  
Took my dad and went back to  
Mexico. We wanted to be  
free Apaches.  
That's a laugh —  
this land is just the same age  
as Europe, but it had a  
later start  
gettin' messed up.  
Our mother the ground  
is like my granma with TB —  
she's been suffering too long  
and maybe it's too late  
to make her well.  
Thanks to my mom Eva  
who died from drinking  
five years ago,  
I got to learn to write  
and go to school.  
One of these days,  
I'm going to Mescalero  
where they buried her  
and take some  
flowers.

— Harry Zonge

there are bridges  
at Kanawake  
montreal rumbles  
over them  
giant bridges  
with stiffened  
legs planted  
firmly in Indianland  
people drink  
people party  
under them  
finding no other use  
water drips  
steel on steel  
makes music  
dirt is on the wind  
*These Bridges*  
montreal  
spews out  
its shit  
at Kanawake  
it rumbles  
over Indianland  
it squats &  
grunts on Indianland  
*These Bridges*  
looking up  
at the framework  
the belly of  
some beast  
constantly flaking  
& oozing  
legs firmly  
planted in Indianland  
there are bridges  
at Kanawake  
and once every year  
someone buys it off  
with electrocution  
there are bridges  
at Kanawake  
that are death  
stiffened legs  
blown to bits  
& people will dance  
in the rubble  
finding no other use

— Karoniaktatie

Where are the roots of men?  
Are they real?  
No one can know completely.  
What is your richness?  
What are your flowers?  
Oh Inventor of Yourself!  
We leave things unfinished;  
For this I weep, I lament.  
Here with flowers, I interweave  
my friends —  
Let us rejoice!  
Our common house is the earth.  
In this place of mystery, beyond,  
is it also like this?  
Truly, it is not the same.  
On earth: flowers and songs.  
Let us live here.

*Does man possess any truth?  
If not, our song is no longer true.  
Is anything stable and lasting?  
What reaches its goal?*

*Who am I?  
As the bird flies about,  
I sing of flowers; I compose songs,  
butterflies of song.  
Let them burst forth from my soul!  
Let hearts be delighted with them!*

One day we must go.  
One night we will descend  
Into the region of mystery.  
Here, we only come to know ourselves;  
Only in passing are we here on earth.  
In peace and pleasure, let us spend our lives.  
Come — let us enjoy ourselves.  
Let not the angry do so,  
for earth is vast indeed!  
Would that one live forever?  
Would that one want to die?

— El Teatro

## THE SKY WAS . . .

a tightening, bird-whispering  
haze of purple when the whites came.

Help us, they asked. Our wagons are  
caught in the mud of

Sand Creek.

We helped. *It is the thing you do.*

My grandfather of the long war bonnet  
took For-lenah, his horse, maker  
of speed, to hitch to the  
wagons of the whites. So did the  
others, to follow the Great Law.

Grandmother's time was singing, the  
baby was breath in her. I did not  
yet live. Grandmother followed her  
man. She tugged and pushed, feet  
in the mud. A blizzard struck, but  
the wagons were saved. The whites  
were saved in the mud of  
Sand Creek.

Grandmother died in the blizzard, near  
the place of the sacred pipe stone.  
My mother was pushed into being as  
Grandmother's spirit fled at

Sand Creek.

My mother was Ta-ee-loa, of the honeyed  
skin and eyes — eyes like flecks of  
gold in the mud of  
Sand Creek.

Grateful whites gave us blankets. Later,  
their religion. Christ seemed to speak  
the Great Law. We listened. We heard.

Many years passed. Many fists of days.  
I was a man. Colonel Chivington came  
riding, calling, "In God we trust."

An eternal night of stars look down on the  
graves of those who died  
near the mud of

Sand Creek.

— Fred Red Cloud

*Wounded Knee  
1890 — ?*

*Pedro  
"They've got to  
quit kicking  
my Oglalas  
around."*

*warrior  
murdered  
on orders  
from ?*

*courageous  
laughing  
in the  
face of  
M-16  
bullets*

*Pedro*

*beaten  
tear gassed  
jailed  
released*

*hunted down  
BIA police  
with  
license  
to  
surround  
to  
kill*

*Pedro*

*at close range  
with  
shot guns  
seven bullets  
what ever  
it takes to  
stop  
Pedro*

*(courageous)*

*from  
laughing  
in  
their  
face*

— Heather Koeppel

